THE LIBERATOR
— IS PUBLISHED —
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
— AT THE —
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

☞ TERMS — Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.

☞ Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN DOLLARS, if payment be made in advance.

☞ All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

☞ Advertisements making less than one square inserted three times for 75 cents — one square for $1.00.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

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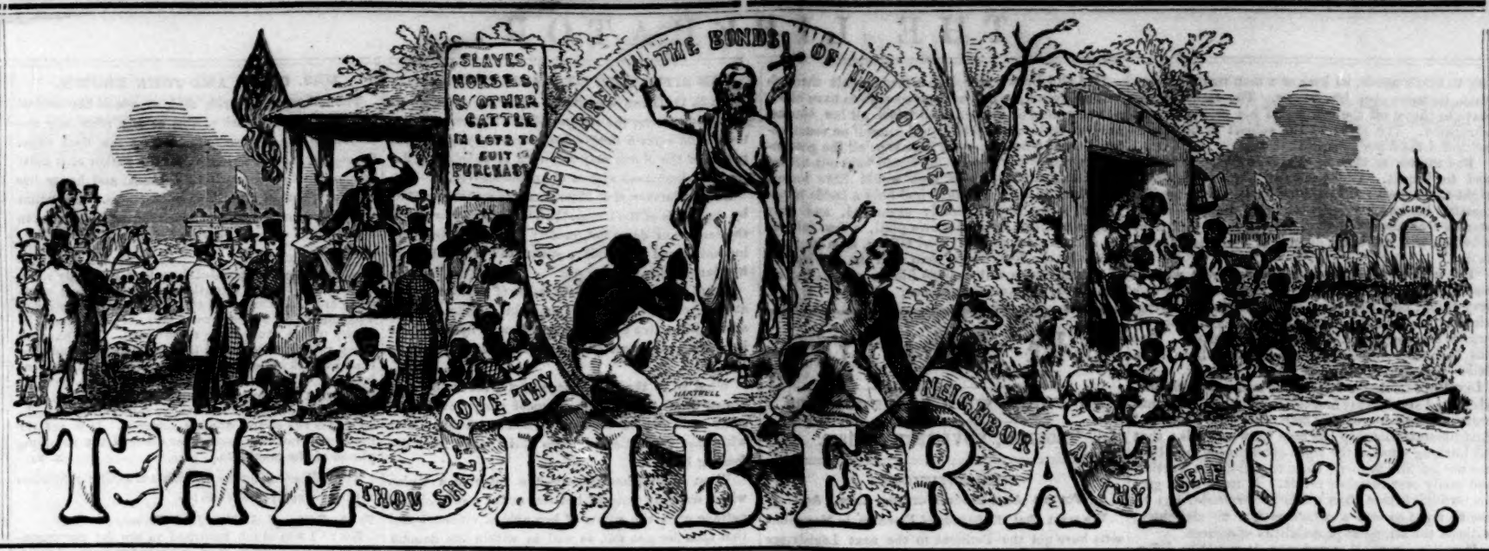
SLAVES, HORSES & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSOR
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

☞ 'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXIX. NO. 46. BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1859. WHOLE NUMBER, 1507.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Boston Post.

CO-OPERATION OF THE BLACK AND 'BROWN' REPUBLICANS.

No thoughtful observer of the signs of the times can fail to perceive that there exists a perfect understanding and mutual purpose of co-operation between that portion of the Opposition which seeks by political influences to obtain possession of the government, and that other portion which is striving to consummate its fanatical schemes outside and in defiance of the government. Though these two divisions ostensibly operate by different means, and approach the citadel of power by diverse paths, their ultimate objects are the same, and they never fail to play into each other's hands when opportunity occurs, notwithstanding their constant disclaimers of connection and sympathy.

The abortive and almost hopeless efforts of the Republican party proper to reach the goal of its ambition, through the medium of popular suffrage, has led it to regard with growing favor and increasing confidence the revolutionary alternative presented by its 'higher-law' allies. The speck of civil war and treason which has lately disturbed the loyal serenity of the Old Dominion, however premature in its development, shows plainly enough that the Opposition is prepared to adopt this desperate alternative, in case legitimate and peaceful measures shall fail to establish its sectional domination. Taken in connection with other circumstances, relating to the Republican State policy of nullification, and contempt for federal authority and constitutional compromises, it shows also, beyond a reasonable doubt, that there is a system of earnest co-operation, looking to a repudiation of all federal obligations, and a violent and sanguinary solution of great political issues.

It is becoming daily more evident, from the phases of the Republican party, and the ominous declarations of its leaders, that legislation, whether constitutional or otherwise, is too slow a coach for its ultra Abolition projects: that the question of negro emancipation is to be decided, not by an appeal to reason, popular suffrage, or judicial authority, but to force and arms; that the 'irrepressible conflict' between the North and South is not to be one of ideas, arguments, or of moral and political influences, but of bayonets and bullets; in the issue of which, the party which yields must yield as a subject, that which triumphs must triumph as a conqueror, and which ever secures the political power must rule as a despot.

With this sectional crisis before them, and the unmistakable tendency of the Republican party to fall in with the revolutionary schemes of Ossawatomie Brown and his confederates, what will the people of Massachusetts say to the arming and enrolling in her loyal militia of the negro population of the Commonwealth? Is it not evidently a part of the system of co-operation, on the part of Republican leaders, by which they intend to further the designs and secure the ultimate success of their traitorous allies? Is it not, indeed, an undisguised preparation for that 'irrepressible conflict' which is to open a short road to Republican domination over the ruins of the Union and Constitution? If they succeed by force in putting down the friends and supporters of the confederacy as it exists, it is not Old Brown and his vagabond associates who will be permitted to rule the country under their bogus constitution, but such men as Wm. H. Seward and N. P. Banks will come forward and occupy the high places, and wear the victorious laurels, under the new dispensation.

Why, then, does Gov. Banks's Legislature propose to arm and discipline his black partisans in Massachusetts, but to second the efforts of his higher-law emissaries in other States, and to cooperate, when the crisis comes, in a servile insurrection? This is the pure brute force and physical element upon which the Brown conspirators rely to do the fighting, burning and pillaging, in the event of a civil war; and such a force is alone available to accomplish their diabolical work. We want no such savage element incorporated in our peerless volunteer militia, to contaminate its chivalry and debase its *esprit du corps.* The State has no need of such defenders; and the descendants of her freeborn heroes, who fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill, are fully competent for any emergency which may require the legitimate services of a citizen soldiery. A negro militia may be a proper instrument for the semi-barbarian Empire of Hayti; but in this country it can only subserve the ends of treason and demagogueism. The people of Massachusetts will repudiate this Black Republican imposture.

☞ Phillips's curses upon Virginia are not more virulent than those he has uttered upon Massachusetts. This foul-mouthed blasphemer and advocate of treason—this rabid vulture, who sniffs the stench of his own mental corruption as a sweet fragrance, and pollutes the air with his vile, seditious breath, glories in the baseness of his speech, and in the huge calumnies his malice engenders against those whose lofty virtues and patriotism—like Washington's—and whose genius and learning—like Webster's, Choate's and Everett's—fill his soul with envy of gifts denied him, and which demonstrate his own moral and political deformity. Does he present one characteristic worthy of respect? He allows no charity for those who differ from him in opinion—they are all knaves and cowards by his decision—villains of the blackest dye; while, for himself, he assumes the highest attributes—an honesty which he never exhibits, a courage which he never proves, a regard for justice which he never practises. It is such a man who presumes to pronounce the decrees of the Holy Being who creates and rules all things, and whose design in suffering the existence of such as Phillips is as inscrutable to finite intelligence as the creation of that Spirit of Evil to whose guidance the abolition orator appears to be completely subservient.—*Ibid.*

THE VIRGINIA PRESS.

The Richmond *Enquirer* and the Richmond *Whig* copy the extremest portions of Wendell Phillips's lecture at Brooklyn; also the call for observing the day of Brown's execution. The *Whig*, in an article on the opinions expressed in the New York *Journal of Commerce* and other papers, against the hanging of Brown, gives vent to its feelings as follows:

'Virginia and the South are ready to face all the consequences of the execution of old Brown and his confederates. Though it convert the whole Northern people, without an exception, into furious, armed abolition invaders, yet *old Brown will be hung!* That is the stern and irreversible decree, not only of the authorities of Virginia, but of the PEOPLE of Virginia, without a dissenting voice. And, therefore, Virginia, and the people of Virginia, will treat with the contempt they deserve, all the *craven appeals* of Northern men in behalf of old Brown's pardon. *The miserable old traitor and murderer belongs to the gallows*, and the gallows *will* have its own, in spite of the threatenings and maledictions of the North and the world combined.

We took the ground at the outset, that old Brown should have been hung at once, without the intervention of judge or jury. He was *a villanous pirate and assassin*, and was therefore *entitled to no trial at law.* We believed at the first, and we still more firmly believe now, that it would have been better and wiser in all respects, if Gov. Wise had given him the swift benefit of *a drum-head court-martial.* In that event, no sympathy for him would have been excited in the North, for he would have had no opportunity of making *incendiary speeches for effect*, and, consequently, nothing of the character of the hero or the martyr would have attached to him, even in the estimation of Garrison and Wendell Phillips.

We, therefore, agree fully with our contemporary of the Fredericksburg News in the opinion, that the absurd and horrid nonsense about Gov. Wise's pardoning old Brown should be condemned and scouted by every sane man in Virginia and the South. The impertinent proposition, come from whom it may, whether Northern Abolitionists or Northern conservatives, should be resented by Virginia and by Gov. Wise and his friends as an insult. He cannot pardon Brown; but if he had the power, it would be worse than treason to exercise it. The majesty of law and the outraged sovereignty of Virginia can be vindicated and revenged only by the death of these miscreants.

The people already inquire why they were spared. Rebels in arms against the Government, State and Federal, with hands red with the blood of murdered citizens, summoned to surrender and refusing, seized at the expense of life, *why were they not shot like dogs* the moment of their capture? All the laws of war, and all the demands of justice, demanded their immediate extermination. The impudent claims of a robber, a horse-thief and a murderer to be recognized as 'a prisoner of war,' should have hastened his punishment.

We verily believe the failure to inflict summary and deserved death upon Brown and his co-conspirators will yet cost Virginia many lives. There are fools and fanatics enough ready to risk life to obtain Brown's notoriety, who would have been deterred by his prompt and immediate execution.

OSAWATOMIE BROWN TO BE HUNG CERTAINLY.

We have seen a letter from Gov. Wise, of Virginia, in which he states that there is no possibility of a pardon or a reprieve being extended to Brown, who therefore will certainly be executed on the appointed day; and perhaps it is better that he should be. All the artificial sympathy got up for him by the anti-slavery orators and journals of that ilk is of no use whatever, and, moreover, it is no greater than the sympathy which every other murderer or great criminal excites upon all occasions, in some quarter or another.

Brown will certainly be put to death, according to law, on the second day of December, and the penalty thus meted out is no more, after all, than he deserves. From the best account of him, it is evident that while in Kansas he was a notorious murderer and horse-stealer, though he then went unwhipt of justice; and from all we learn of his career since, it appears that he has been a long time preparing for this fresh work of murder and insurrection at Harper's Ferry, in the accomplishment of which he has been caught, convicted and condemned.

His entire course in Kansas, in 1856, was approved and encouraged by the anti-slavery leaders. He was then the recipient of their applause, their counsels, and their assistance. Forbes was sent out to him to drill and train his brigands, and Greeley gave Forbes twenty dollars to carry him on his way. These same parties now claim that Brown is insane, and ought to be pardoned or shut up in a lunatic asylum; but when he was committing murder and robbery in Kansas, who ever heard the charge of insanity brought against him? It is only now that he is unsuccessful, and caught in the perpetration of crime, that he is discovered to be mad, and an extraordinary attempt is made to excite sympathy in his behalf, and to elevate him to the rank of a martyr.

The truth is that Old Brown led a ruffian's life, and may have expected a ruffian's death. There is nothing left for him now but to prepare to meet that death on the gallows as best he may. The law, in his case, as in that of other murderers, claims its victim, and we see no good reason why its demands should not be satisfied.—*New York Herald.*

THE CASE OF STEVENS, THE HARPER'S FERRY CONSPIRATOR. In turning over the prisoner Stevens, of the Harper's Ferry conspirators, into the hands of the federal authorities for a trial, Gov. Wise has done a good thing; for, whereas the State Court of Virginia could only reach the witnesses within its local jurisdiction, the federal courts can reach them in any part of the United States. Thus, in the trial of Stevens, all the Abolition and Black Republican leaders and fanatics, from New York to Kansas, supposed to have been implicated in this plot of 'Old Brown,' can be brought up to testify on the subject to the extent of their knowledge. Accordingly, let Giddings, Greeley, Forbes, Redpath, Seward, and all other Abolitionists and Republicans concerned, look out for a call to Virginia to answer as witnesses, under oath, before a federal court, to the extent of their knowledge in reference to this bloody raid of 'Old Brown,' its origin, objects, and the parties concerned. In regard to Stevens, Gov. Wise has promised us some astounding developments, involving prominent Northern Abolitionists, &c., and we have no doubt that the federal trial will be exceedingly interesting to the Republican party.—*N. Y. Herald.*

HARD TIMES WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS—GERRIT SMITH IN A MADHOUSE. The times are sadly out of joint with the abolitionists. Three-fourths of those who were concerned in the Harper's Ferry foray met their deaths from rifle shot or bayonet plunge; Brown, their leader, lies in Charlestown prison, condemned to death on the gallows. The three or four survivors who fell alive into the hands of the authorities will have to share the same fate. A few others are outcasts and fugitives, with prices set upon their heads. Fred. Douglass has made his escape to England; and Gerrit Smith—the man of generous but distorted views, whose large contributions kept abolitionists at their work—has been for weeks past in a state of the most nervous excitement from realizing the fearful consequences of his misdirected philanthropy. But yesterday rumors were rife that a requisition had been made for him by the Governor of Virginia upon the Governor of New York. To-day he is beyond the reach of any criminal process, being an inmate of the State Lunatic Asylum at Utica—where, according to telegraphic despatches, he was placed by his friends on Monday last. What a pity that Gerrit Smith's insanity and old Brown's insanity were not discovered a month ago, and the whole country spared the evils that have flowed and are flowing from their mad enterprise! If Seward, and those other abolitionists about whose sanity there is no question, were only now in the way of meeting their deserts, the popular excitement would soon settle down, and abolitionism would be regarded as one of the phases which madness assumes.—*Ibid.*

PHILLIPS'S BROOKLYN LECTURE.

Wendell Phillips, safe in Boston, is responsible for John Brown, incarcerated at Charlestown. Upon such men as Wendell Phillips is the blood of Brown and his five associates; and, though hardened in villany at present, death may yet unnerve Phillips, and he, too, may cry out '*peccavi!*' as poor Brown has just done.

What means the applause that greeted the treason of Phillips in Brooklyn? What is the world to understand from such an exhibition of approbation? Is this the government of two people, as different in our sentiments of right and wrong as we are in our institutions? When an impudent scoundrel, avowing himself 'not a citizen,' asserts that one of the States of the confederacy is not a government, it would pass unheeded, did it not meet the approbation and enlist the attention of a crowded audience from a sister State. Our Northern brethren, by such exhibitions of approbation, are fanning the flame of civil discord, which, in an unlooked for hour, will burst forth into a consuming conflagration. We shall feed the now smouldering embers with every particle of fuel furnished by the Northern fanatics. As long as Conservatism sits silent and listens, coward-like, to such treason, we shall inform our readers of public sentiment at the North, and if the information inflames, why, let the consequences fall on the authors and abettors. It is folly to point Southern people to the Northern press as evidence that Brown is execrated at the North. A few more such public meetings as that which applauded Phillips will satisfy the people of the South that the Union has served its purpose, that we are two different people, and that all efforts at continued good feeling under a common government are futile.

If there are parties at the North who desire dissolution, they have seized the best means by which to accomplish their wishes. Public feeling of insecurity in the Union was aroused by the Harper's Ferry *emeute*, a great wrong to a sovereign State was there perpetrated, private citizens brutally murdered, public property insolently seized and destroyed—if these things take place in the Union, can worse happen out of it? If, under the form of a Confederacy, such wrongs are perpetrated, will an existence as separate and independent nations bring any greater calamities?

These are the questions now asked from neighbor to neighbor—all subjects of party politics are forgotten; anxious inquiry is made every day *whether the Southern Senators will take their seats with Seward, Hale and Sumner, implicated as they have been in this affair.* To aggravate such a state of public sentiment, with charges and insinuations of weakness, cowardice and injustice; with slanders against the Executive and people of the injured State, is treason worse than that of Brown.

The wickedness of Wendell Phillips reaches its climax in speaking of Virginia, while its consummate ignorance bears testimony to his impudent pretensions. When abuse and falsehood from such a man as this receive the applause of a popular assembly—it is true he was occasionally hissed, but applause was the far more general—the world will not comprehend a Union, the working operation of which is violence, and murder, and their approbation. Nor will the South submit to such a Union. When the ravings of fanatics find such practical illustrations as Harper's Ferry furnishes, it is idle to talk of Northern conservatism. The conservatives of the North are cowed and trampled under foot by impudent blatant abolitionism, and the sooner the tyrant is overcome, the better it will be for their trade and commerce, for the value of their real estate, their manufactures, their ships, and for the permanence and perpetuity of the Union.—*Richmond Enquirer.*

SHALL WE LISTEN TO TREASON? We have no sympathies with Mr. Phillips and those who speak and act with him, but we believe thoroughly in freedom of thought and speech, in the right of every citizen who wants to hear other opinions than his own, to be at liberty so to hear unmolested.

We agree with the Commercial that freedom of thought and speech are essential elements in our system; and we would not have them restrained. But the utterance of treason against the Government, and the inciting others to commit treasonable acts, is an abuse of that privilege, which, if it may be tolerated, certainly cannot be too strongly condemned.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

The New York *Observer*, organ of the Old School Presbyterians, takes strong ground against pardoning old Brown. Assuming that he was guilty of murder and insurrection, it argues as follows:—

'Punishment in the government of God and man does not spring from a spirit of revenge. It is the fruit of love. Love demands that one who has made war upon society shall die. Philanthropy, the love of man, the love of the human race, the love of the greatest number requires that murderers be punished, as God, who is love, ordained. And we tremble less in view of Brown's mad freak than we do in the face of the fact, that there is abroad in the land a sentiment that would shield him and others from the just consequences of their crimes. When these men embarked in this war upon the State, when they prepared guns for the white men and a thousand spears for the blacks, to be used in barbarous slaughter, when they imbrued their hands in blood by taking the first victim, (an honest colored man who made no resistance, but was only seeking to escape from their hands,) and murdering him in cold blood; when they refused to lay down their arms after being overpowered, and continued their murderous work, they threw away all claim to compassion, and put themselves on the hazard of the revolution they had begun. If others can find any cause for pardoning such crime, we cannot.'

☞ Is it not time to pause in the agitation of questions concerning the domestic affairs of our sister States? Shall not the manifestations of riot and bloodshed, the consequence of the teachings of Smith, Seward, Giddings, and other statesmen of the 'irrepressible conflict' school, prove sufficient to stop the mad career of sectionalism? And if this is not enough, shall not the inevitable consequence of such teachings and such sentiments, upon the teachers and actors, as exhibited in the case of Gerrit Smith, Dr. Cheever, John Brown, Cook and their associates, impart a useful admonition?

In close connection with this subject is the new phase in which Dr. Cheever now appears before the public, in a letter to some parties in England, extracts from which will be found in our columns today. We need scarcely comment upon the remarkable circumstance, that a church of many years' standing, in the wealthiest and most fashionable part of this great metropolis, should, in consequence of the Abolition ravings of its pastor, be obliged to send a woman on a begging excursion to the Abolitionists of England, in order to pay the current expenses. We may look, at an early day, for further accessions to the list of applicants at the Utica Asylum from the ranks of the falsely-named philanthropists of this country.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

SELECTIONS.

EMERSON ON COURAGE.

Extract from the lecture of Ralph Waldo Emerson at the Tremont Temple, Boston, Tuesday evening, 8th instant:—

Courage is of many kinds—Scientific, Temperamental, Ideal. It consists in the conviction that they with whom you contend are no more than you. It is said courage is common, but the immense esteem in which it is held proves this to be an error. Animal resistance, the instinct of the male when cornered, is no doubt common; but the pure article, courage with conduct, self-possession at the cannon's mouth, cheerfulness in lonely adherence to the right, is the endowment of elevated characters. 'Mankind,' said Franklin, 'are dastardly when they meet with opposition.' It is said that generals are seldom found eager to give battle.

Lord Wellington said uniforms were often masks; and again he said, 'When my journal appears, many statues must come down.' Voltaire said, 'One of the chief misfortunes of honest people is that they are cowardly;' and we notice in our politics and social alliances, that their tactics are simply defensive. Our political parties—how infirm and ignoble! See what white lips they have! Always on the defensive! As if the lead were entrusted to the journals, written often by women and boys! The journals, which wish to keep up only the appearance of strength without strength,—they can do the hurrahs, and the pleading, and the voting, if it is a fair day; but the aggressive, advancing attitude of people who will have right done, and no more be bothered with burglars, and counterfeiters, and ruffians, in the streets and public offices,—the part of leader and soul of Vigilance Committees, must be taken by honest, sincere men, who are really indignant and determined. We have, from year to year, in the politics of Massachusetts, criticism which watches and contradicts the opposite party, but we want a leader that advances and dictates. When we get an advantage in Congress, it is usually because our adversary has made a fault, and not that we have made a thrust. Why do we not say, since that is the honest sentiment of the people—why do we not say, in reference to the evil of the times, that we are Abolitionists of the most absolute abolition?—as every man must be; only the Hottentots, only the barbarians, or semi-barbarians, are not. 'We do not try to alter your laws in Alabama, or in Japan, or in the Fejee Islands, but we shall not suffer you to carry your Thugism North, South, East, or West, into any Territory that we can control!'

I think badly of cowardice. It shuts the eyes until the sky is no bigger than a calf-skin. Fear is cowardly and mean, until at last we do not know virtue when we see it. There is a total perversion of things; society is upside down, and its best men are thought too bad to live. I wish we might have health enough to know virtue when we see it, and not cry with the fools, '*Madman!*' when a hero passes. (Prolonged applause.)

Understand, there is no separate essence called courage; no cell in the brain, no vessel in the heart, containing the drops or atoms that make or give this virtue; but it is the right, healthy state of every man when he is free to do that which is constitutional to him to do. Bonaparte said, 'My hand is instantly connected with my head, and what I say, that I do, or I die.' So is it with the hero. A vulgar man is embarrassed by petty considerations; he does not penetrate to the end of his action, but stops short at the surface. He sees the enmities he provokes, the loss of day wages, wounds and injury, a bad name, and danger to life. The brave man believes in his thought and obeys it, nothing doubting that it will bring him out well.

There is also a temperamental courage—a warlike blood, which loves a fight. This sort of courage, the lecturer said, was found in wasps, hornets and ants, and appeared in individual men, and in certain individuals in every race; and, as represented in some men, it was 'Puss in Boots,' taught to say, 'How do you do?' or, rather, 'No you don't!' and how to swear; but for all the rest, a poor Grimalkin,—small brain, and runs to claws and spitting! (Loud laughter and applause.) With a nation of men of this complexion, war is the safest terms. That marks them, and if they cross the lines, they can be dealt with as fanged animals.

This courage of the blood is ostentatious; the best courage is not ostentatious. Men who wish to inspire terror seem thereby to confess themselves cowards. Why do they rely on it, but because they know how potent it is with themselves? There is no tyrant like fear. A curious example is the recent history of the Southern States. The Southerners reckon the New Englanders to be less brave than they; yet the 'Reign of Terror' was in the South. It is not to be believed that there was no minority in the South during the year 1856; yet never was mutter or peep heard, with the exception of the explicit declaration of Mr. Botts of Virginia and Mr. Davis of Maryland. Every gentleman in Carolina was mute as the grave during all that exciting period. Is it to be believed that Cassius M. Clay is the only gentleman in Kentucky who holds his opinions? But there is a 'Reign of Terror' also, in the North, and we have no right to boast, so long as love of trade, a preference of peace to justice, or the love of comfort at any cost, withholds men from vote and voice. It is perfectly plain, that when a million, or half a million of voters in good earnest wish a thing done, they will fast find governors, judges and members of Congress to put it through all the forms. And if the laws of Massachusetts are not now just and heroic, it is not the fault of the United States, but of ourselves.

But far above the courage of blood is the courage of character—the Will. There are many books on the Will. There is Edwards, and Hopkins, and Kant, and Hegel, but it remains a mystery and a miracle, and when it appears in a man, he is a hero, and all the metaphysics in the world is dumb before him, and shares the astonishment. As soon as we rise to the heights of courage, we come to the grand models of mankind. We have come to the secret of the Will, which is the antagonist of Fate, which is the presence always of spiritual power, the presence of God in man—always miraculous, and 'past finding out.' We are embosomed in a spiritual world, yet none ever saw an angel or spirit. Whence does our knowledge of it come? Only from man. The only revealer of the divine mind is the thoughts of men. The soul of God is poured into the world through the thoughts of men.

On this division of his subject, Mr. Emerson was peculiarly forcible and eloquent. One illustration we cannot pass by. After alluding to the heroes of other times and other lands, who, 'as soon as they are born, take a bee line to the rack of the Inquisition or the axe of the tyrant,' he said—'Look nearer, at the ungathered records of those who have gone to languish in prison or to die in rescuing others, or in rescuing themselves from chains of the slave; or look at that new saint, than whom none purer or more brave was ever led by love of man into conflict and death; a new saint, waiting yet his martyrdom; and who, if he shall suffer, will make the gallows glorious like the cross. (Prolonged and enthusiastic applause.)

But 'wisdom is justified of her children.' Valor pays rents as well as lands. A noble cause begets love and confidence, and has a sure reward. High courage, a power of will superior to events, makes a band of union between enemies. If Gov. Wise be a superior man, and inasmuch as he is a superior man, he distinguishes his captive John Brown.

As they confer, they understand each other swiftly; each respects the other, and if opportunity allowed, they would prefer each other's society to that of their former companions. Enemies become affectionate; become aware that they are nearer alike than any other two, and if circumstances did not keep them apart, they would fly into each other's arms. Poets and orators and painters catch the hint, and every thing feels the new breath, excepting the dead and doting-politicians whom the trump of resurrection could not reach.

The subject is great, said Mr. Emerson in conclusion, the time is short. I may say that he has not learned the lesson of life who does not every day surmount his fears. I do not wish to put myself or any man into the theatrical position of urging you to ape the courage of another man. Have the courage not to ape another's courage. There is scope and trial and battle-field enough for you in your own work, and home and circumstance, and there is no belief of any man which does not equally preach this courage.

If I speak to any man who has not faith in a beneficent power above us, but sees only an adamantine fate coiling its inevitable folds about men, to him I say, the best use of fate is to teach us courage, like the Turk. Go face the fire at sea, or the cholera in a friend's house, or the burglar in your own, or whatever danger lies in the way of duty, knowing that you are guarded by Destiny.

If you believe in fate to your harm, believe in it at least for your good. Or if, on the other hand, you accept your thoughts as inspiration from a Supreme Intelligence, obey them when they prescribe difficult duties, because they come only so long as they are used. Or if your skepticism reaches to the lowest verge, and you have no confidence in any foreign mind, then be brave, because there is one good opinion which must always be of the highest consequence to you—namely, your own. (Loud applause.)

REV. DR. CHEEVER ON THE HARPER'S FERRY TRAGEDY.

Even amidst the distant thunder of the coming tempest, while the big drops are falling that forerun the storm, under the very discipline of God's preliminary plague, the blood at Harper's Ferry being only the precursor of the blood of the first born, if the American Pharaoh, with James and Jambres, resisting God, refuse to set his people free; even thus and now, we are publicly taught that man is to be obeyed rather than God, that the wicked laws of men must be sustained and followed, no matter what becomes of God's law, for that law is so sacred a thing, and so important to be preserved in its majesty, that while it is law, though ever so opposed to God's word, it must be fulfilled. But the only majesty of law is the majesty of God's authority, God's righteousness, and if divested of that, if contrary to that, then the only obligation upon us is that of disobeying and denouncing it. God's law indeed must be fulfilled, and man's law, if contrary to God's law, must be disobeyed; and this is the only way to preserve a just respect for the government, or a remnant of human freedom on the earth. Yet these Atheists tell us, 'Obey even the bad law while it is a law, until it be repealed!'—As if any tyrant on earth, or oppressive government, would ever repeal one of their unrighteous enactments, so long as they found the people willing to obey them. As if Nebuchadnezzar's law of image worship would ever have been repealed if Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, instructed by our modern politicians, had consented to obey it, and had taught the people to obey it while it was a law. Or as if the decree of Darius against prayer to God, in the law of the Medes and Persians, would ever have been repealed, and Daniel, according to the same Atheistic teachings, obeyed it so long as it was a law; had he not disobeyed it, in the name of God, and gone into the lion's den in consequence, just as Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego into the fiery furnace. They broke up the tyranny by breaking the law, and that was the God-inspired and commanded method of protesting against it. Now, my friends, this hath the mouth of the Lord spoken for us, and we are on the verge of the same ruin. If it was executed upon them, let none imagine that we shall be spared.—When the Lord Jesus came unto his own, and repromulgated God's violated laws, he found the leprosy of the nation hidden even in the Church.

The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword against sin, and if the church and the ministry would use it faithfully, trusting in God, sin would be conquered.—Its sharpest edge is to be used, and it is not to be wreathed with flowers nor handled deceitfully, nor the trowel of Ezekiel's false prophets to be substituted for it, daubing with untempered mortar. Used as God gave it, it has a power, even against the atheism and inhumanity of slavery, that nothing else can have. In the work of the abolition of slavery by the Society of Friends, in one of the Southern States, there was at first great difficulty and opposition. In one of their stormy discussions, an influential Quaker, who still held on to his slave property, when it was insisted that they must all relinquish it, and the most persuasive arguments had been employed in vain, arose and declared that they had no right to make such a demand upon him, that his slaves were as truly his property as his oxen, and that it was not obligatory on him to give up the one more than the other. Indignant at this assertion, another brother arose to answer him, and said:—'Friend, that speech of thine came right out from the very belly of hell, yea, from the belly of hell hast thou brought this speech.' On their assembling the next morning, the man thus pungently rebuked, said to his reproving brother:—'Friend, thou didst hurt my feelings; thou didst much distress me by thine unkind speaking. I could get no sleep all night for thy bitterness.' 'Friend,' said his neighbor, 'if thou hast been distressed, I am glad of it; I am glad thou couldst not sleep, and I hope to God thou never wilt sleep till thou hast freed thy slaves.' And he could not sleep again, and did not, till he had freed his slaves; but had it not been for the faithful reproof of his brother, he might have kept them to this day. Read the 27th chapter of Deuteronomy, and then say for what purpose were the curses given, and to whom were they committed for use and application. To the church and the ministry, for a great, wise, most merciful and good purpose, against the cruel, remorseless, gigantic sin of men and nations: against oppressors and those who sanction their villanies. It is the business of the church and ministry to apply these withering denunciations, just as God gave them, to the precise sins which he has catalogued and classified there and elsewhere for their reprobation. They are tremendous weapons, which those alone can use aright who are themselves inspired with God's love, and therefore know how to hate what God abhors and has forbidden. But if such who profess to have been the recipients of his grace refuse this mission, then let them refrain from denouncing, in their turn, those who, perhaps without the spirit of love, but to supply their treachery, take up the burden of those curses, and seem to occupy themselves wholly with them. If the church do not curse at God's command, in sympathy with him, out of love, and in the spirit of righteous indignation in behalf of the oppressed and against the oppressor, then the world will curse, the heart of agonized humanity will curse, out of nothing but wrath and hatred.—If the church and ministry refuse to apply these denunciations of God against sin, then the world will take them up and scatter them as firebrands, arrows and death. If the church do not use them as God intended, men out of the church, driven into infidelity by the church sanctioning sin, will brandish them with mere natural revengeful passion and heat. If this fire be not kindled on God's altar, in God's fireplace, the devil will scatter it all about the house. Or if conservative saints jump upon the safety valve to confine the steam and prevent the noise, then no wonder if it explodes to men's destruction. It is thus that such a man as John Brown, of Ossawatomie, was thrown from his balance and driven to a course of desperation. The church and the ministry would not give vent to that fire which God has committed to them for application against sin, and the consequence was that a double portion of it in his soul exploded. A silent, conservative, treacherous church and ministry compel such a soul to do more, to feel more, to hate more, than its sensitive organization can bear; and it very naturally may give way under the pressure. If the church and ministry had done their duty, John Brown would have done no more than his; John Brown would have been found in the church, directing the great guns of God's word against the sin of slaveholding, and not at Harper's Ferry with carnal weapons. Let not those professed Christians who have neglected their duty presume to utter one word against that martial hero for having overdone his. The dumb dogs that never even yelped against slavery are deep-mouthed in their denunciations of him. The man has committed no treason, but the silent church and ministry have. If the man should be hanged, it is their treason, not his own, for which he suffers.—They who have sanctioned the iniquity and cruelty against which he has been fighting are the traitors, and the anguish of such treachery, if such a man brooded long over it, might have driven him almost mad, even if the murder of his own children had not been added to it. The inactivity and treachery of the church, amidst the prevalence of such enormities, drive some men into infidelity, but not a man whose communion is with God, not a true Christian such as John Brown is said to be; the mischief with him seems to have been that the failure and treachery of others, their unfaithfulness to God and the enslaved, filled him with more fire than he could keep within the bounds of wisdom and prudence. It is the declaration of divine inspiration itself that oppression maketh a wise man mad. Let those that are without sin cast the first stone. The great lesson of the tragedy is this: If the men of peace will not apply God's law against the sin of slaveholding in the shape of argument and earnest truth, the men of war will put it in the shape of bullets, and fight it out. Most of the wars in this world have risen from the scarcity and unfaithfulness of Christian warriors; for if they will but fight God's battles with the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, God himself promises that even men of violence shall turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and the nations shall learn war no more.

SHARP'S RIFLES ONLY FOR WHITE MEN.

[From a recent Sermon by Henry Ward Beecher.]

I do not propose, at this time, to express my opinion upon the general subject of Slavery. I have elsewhere, and often, deliberately uttered my testimony. Reflection and experience only confirm my judgment of its immeasurable evils. It is a double-edged evil, that cuts both ways, wounding master and slave; a pest to good morals; a consumption of the industrial virtues; a burden upon society, in its commercial and whole economic arrangements; a political anomaly, a nuisance, and a cause of inevitable degradation in religious ideas, feelings and institutions. All other causes of friction, put together, derived from the weakness or the wickedness of men, are not half so mischievous to our land as is this gigantic evil.

But it exists in our land, with a broad spread, and a long-continued hold. The extent of our duties toward the slave and toward the master, is another and separate question. Our views upon the nature of Slavery may be right, and our views of our duty toward it may be wrong. At this time it is peculiarly necessary that all good men should be divinely led to act with prudence and efficient wisdom.

Because it is a great sin, because it is a national curse, it does not follow that we have a right to say anything or do anything that we may happen to please. We certainly have no right to attack it in any manner that will gratify men's fancies or passions. It is computed that there are four million colored slaves in our nation. These dwell in fifteen different Southern States, with a population of ten million whites. These sovereign States are united to us, not by any federal ligaments, but by vital interests, by a common national life. And the question of duty is not simply what is duty toward the blacks, not what is duty toward the whites, but what is duty to each, and to both united. I am bound by the great law of love to consider my duties toward the slave, and I am bound by the great law of love also to consider my duties toward the white man, who is his master! Both are to be treated with Christian wisdom and forbearance.—We must seek to benefit the slave as much as the white man, and the white man as really as the slave. We must keep in mind the interest of every part—of the slaves themselves, of the white population, and of the whole brotherhood of States, federated into national life. And while the principles of liberty and justice are one and the same, always and everywhere, the wisest method of conferring upon man the benefit of liberty and justice demands great consideration, according to circumstances.

How to *apply* an acknowledged principle in practical life, is a task more difficult than the defence of the principle. It is harder to define what would be just in certain emergencies, than to establish the duty, claims and authority of justice.

Can any light be thrown upon this difficult path? Some light may be shed; but the difficulties of duty can never be removed, except by the performance of duty. But, some things may be known beforehand, and guide to practical solutions.

I shall proceed to show The Wrong Way and The Right Way.

1. First, we have no right to treat the citizens of the South with *acrimony* and *bitterness*, because they are involved in a system of wrong-doing. Wrong is to be exposed. But the *spirit* of rebuke may be as wicked before God, as the spirit of the evil rebuked. Simplicity and firmness in truth is more powerful than any vehement bitterness. Speaking the truth in love, is the Apostle's prescription.—

Some men so love that they will not speak painful truth, and some men utter truth so bitterly as to destroy love; and both are evil-doers. A malignant speech of slavery will not do any good; and, most of all, it will not do those any good who most excite our sympathy—the children of bondage. If we hope to ameliorate the condition of the slave, the first step must not be taken by getting the master against him. We may be sure that God will not employ mere wrath for wisdom; and that he will raise up and send forth, when his day comes, fearless men, who shall speak the truth for justice, in the spirit of love. Therefore, it is a matter, not merely of political and secular wisdom, but of Christian conscience, that those that have at heart the welfare of the enslaved should maintain a Christian spirit. This can be done without giving up one word of truth or one principle of righteousness. A man may be fearless and plain spoken, and yet give evidence of being sympathetic, and kind-hearted, and loving

2. The breeding of discontent among the bondmen of our land is not the way to help them.—Whatever gloomy thoughts the slave's own mind may brood, we are not to carry disquiet to him from without.

If I could have my way, every man on the globe should be a free man, and at once. But as they cannot be, will not be, for ages, is it best that bitter discontent should be inspired in them, or Christian quietness and patient waiting? If restlessness would bring freedom, they should never rest. But I firmly believe that moral goodness in the slave is the harbinger of liberty. The influence of national freedom will gradually reach the enslaved. It will hereby inspire that restlessness which precedes development. Germination is the most silent, but most disturbing of all natural processes. Slaves are bound to feel the universal summer of civilization. In this way they must come to restless yearnings. We cannot help that, and would not if we could. It is God's sign that spring has come to them. The soul is coming up. There must be room for it to grow. But this is a very different thing from surly discontent, stirred up from without, and left to rankle in their unenlightened natures.

The time is rapidly coming when the Southern Christianity will feel a new inspiration. We are not far removed from a revival of the doctrines of Christian manhood and the divine rights of men.—When this pentecost comes, the slaves will be stirred by their own masters. We must work upon the master. Make him discontented with slavery, and he will speedily take care of the rest. Before this time comes, any attempt to excite discontent among the slaves will work mischief to *them*, and not good. And my experience—and I have had some experience in this matter—is, that men who tamper with slaves and incite them, are not themselves to be trusted. They are not honest men, unless they are fanatical. If they have their reason, they usually have lost their conscience. I never will trust such men with money, nor place any confidence in them whatsoever. I do not know why it is so, but my experience has taught me that men who do such things are crafty, and come forth from such tampering unreliable men. Conspirators, the world over, are bad men. And if I were in the South—and I think I have the reputation there of being a tolerably stout abolitionist—I should, not from fear of the master, but from the most deliberate sense of the injurious effects of it to the slave, never by word, nor sign, nor act, do anything to excite discontent among those that are in slavery. The condition of the slave must be changed, but the change cannot go on in one part of the community alone. There must be a change in the law, change in the church, change in the upper classes, change in the middle, and in all classes, Emancipation, when it comes, will come either by revolution, or by a change of public opinion in the *whole community*. No influences, then, are adequate to the relief of the slave, which are not of a proportion and power sufficient to modify the thought and the feelings of the whole community. The evil is not partial. It cannot be cured by partial remedies. Our plans must include a universal change in policy, feeling, purpose, theory and practice, in the nation. The application of simple remedies to single spots, in this great body of disease, will serve to produce a useless irritation; it will merely fester the hand, but not cure the whole body.

3. No relief will be carried to the slaves of the South, as a body, by any individual or organized plans to carry them off, or to incite them to abscond.

The more enlightened and liberty-loving among the southern slaves bear too much of their masters' blood not to avail themselves of any opening to escape. It is their right—it will be their practice.—Free locomotion is an incident to slave property which the master must put up with. Nimble legs are much used in providence to temper the severity of slavery. If, therefore, an enslaved man, acting from the yearnings of his own heart, desires to run away, who shall forbid him? In all the earth, wherever a human being is held in bondage, he has a right to slough his burden and break his yoke if he can. If he wishes liberty, and is willing to dare and suffer for it, let him; if by his manly courage he achieves it, he ought to have it. And I honor such a man!

Nay, if he has escaped, and comes to me, I owe him shelter, succor, defence, and God-speed to a final safety. If there were as many laws as there are lines in the fugitive slave law, and as many officers as there were lions in Daniel's lions' den, I would disregard every law but God's, and help the fugitive! The officers might catch me, but not *him*, if I could help it. A man whose own heart has inspired liberty and courage sufficient to enable him to achieve what he desired, shall never come to my door, and not be made as welcome as my own child. I will adopt him for God's sake, and for the sake of Christ, who broods over the weak and perishing. Nor am I singular in such feelings and purposes. Ten thousand men, even in the South, would feel and do the same. A man who would not help a fellow-creature flying for his liberty, must be either a villain or a politician.

But all this is very different from stirring up discontent, and setting on men to escape by outside influence.

I stand on the outside of this great cordon of darkness, and every man that escapes from it, running for his life, shall have some help from me, if he comes forth of his own free accord; yet I am not the man to go in and incite slaves to run away, to send any other man to do it, to approve it, or to countenance it. I do not believe we have a right to carry into the system of slavery exterior discontent; and for this reason: *that it is not good for the slaves themselves*. It is short-sighted humanity, at best, and poor policy for both the blacks and the whites. And I say again, I would not trust a man that would do it. It would injure the blacks chiefly and especially. How it would injure them will appear when I come to speak positively of what is the right way to promote the liberty of the enslaved. I may say here, however, that the higher a man is raised in the scale of being, the harder it will be to hold him in bondage and to sell him; while the more he is like an animal, the easier it will be to hold him in thrall and harness. The more you make slaveholders feel that when they oppress and sell a man, they are oppressing and selling God's image, the harder it will be for them to continue to enslave and traffic in human beings. Therefore, whatever you do to inspire in the slave high and noble and godlike feelings, tends to loosen his chains: and whatever shall inspire in him base, low and cruel feelings, tightens them.

4. Still less would we tolerate anything like insurrection and servile war. It would be the most cruel, hopeless, and desperate of all conceivable follies, to seek emancipation by the sword and by blood. And though I love liberty as my own life; though I long for it in every human being; though, if God, by unequivocal providences, should ordain that it should come again as of old, through terrible plagues on the first born, and by other terrors of ill, I should submit to the Divine behest; yet, so far as human instrumentation is concerned, with all the conscience of a man, with all the faith of a Christian, and with all the zeal and warmth of a philanthropist, I protest against any counsels that lead to insurrection, servile war, and bloodshed. It is bad for the master—bad for the slave—bad for all that are neighbors to them—bad for the whole land—bad from beginning to end! An evil so unminded and malignant, that its origin can scarcely be doubted.

I believe, however, in the right of a people to assert and achieve their liberty. The right of a race or nation to seize their freedom is not to be disputed. It belongs to all men on the face of the globe, without regard to complexion. A people have the right to change their rulers, their government, their whole political condition. The right is not either granted or limited in the New Testament. It is left, as is air, water, and existence itself, as things not requiring command or legislation. But according to God's words, so long as a man remains a servant, he must obey his master. The right of the slave to throw off the control of his master is not abrogated. The right of the subject to do this is neither defined nor limited.

But the *use* of this right must conform to reason and to benefit. The *leaders* of a people have no right to whelm their helpless followers into terrible disaster by inciting them to rebel, under circumstances that afford not the slightest hope that their rebellion will rise to the dignity of a successful revolution.

The nations of Italy are showing great wisdom and fitness in their leaders for their work, in this very thing, that they are quelling fretful and irregular outbreaks, and holding the people steadfast, till success shall surely crown uprising revolution. This has been the eminent wisdom of that Hungarian exile—Kossuth.

In spite of all that is written and said against this noble man, I stand to my first full faith in him. The uncrowned hero is the noblest man, after all, in Europe! And his statesmanship has been shown in this: that his burning sense of the right of his people to be free, has not led him to incite them to premature, partial, and easily over-matched revolt. A man may give his own life rather than abide in servitude, but he has no right to lead a whole people to slaughter, without the strongest probabilities of success.

If nations were all armed men, it would be different. Soldiers can die. But a nation is made up of other materials besides armed men—it is made up of women, and children, and youth. These are to be considered—not merely men of muscle, and knuckle, and bone. And a man that leads a people has no right to incite that people to rise, unless there is a reasonable prospect that they will conquer.

Now, if the Africans in our land were intelligent; if they understood themselves; if they had self-governing power; if they were able first to throw off the yoke of laws and constitutions, and afterwards to defend and build themselves up in a civil State; then they would have just the same right to assume their independence that any nation has.

But does any man believe that this is the case? Does any man believe that this vast horde of undisciplined Africans, if set free, would have cohesive power enough to organize themselves into a government, and maintain their independence? If there be men who believe this, I am not among them. I certainly think that even slaves would be made immeasurably better by liberty; but I do not believe they would be made better by liberty gained by insurrection or rebellion. A regulated liberty; a liberty possessed with the consent of their masters; a liberty under the laws and institutions of the country; a liberty which should make them common beneficiaries of those institutions and principles which make us wise and happy—such a liberty would be a great blessing to them. Freedom, with law and government, is a good, but without them it is a mischief. And anything that tends to incite among men a vague insurrectionary spirit, is a great and cruel wrong to them.

If, in view of the wrongs of slavery, you say that you do not care for the master, but only the slave, I reply that you *should* care for both master *and* slave! If you do not care for the fate of the wrong-doing white man, *I* do care for the fate of the wrong-doing white man. But even though your sympathy were only for the slave, then for his sake you ought to set your face against, and discountenance anything like an insurrectionary spirit.

WHO TAUGHT JOHN BROWN?

The *Herald* says it was Mr. Seward; Wendell Phillips, that it was the Abolitionists; but Virginia has a better right to the distinction than either. If any one doubts this, let him look at the seal of the Old Dominion. We have before us an impression of this seal, countersigned by Henry A. Wise himself, and by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, George W. Munford. Thousands of such impressions have been scattered through Virginia by Gov. Wise, to teach their lessons to slaveholders and slaves. What is the device? An insurgent slave, his liberty cap flaunting in the air, his left hand grasping a pike, his right brandishing a sword over the prostrate master whom he tramples under foot. What is the motto? '*Sic semper tyrannis*,' which, freely translated, means, 'So perish every slaveholder,' or, more freely, 'Hurrah for John Brown!' though the popular Virginia translation is, 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.' The religious tone of this would suit the stern old Puritan of Harper's Ferry. His Massachusetts admirers who propose to erect a monument to his memory may perhaps find a model in the seal which Gov. Wise will affix to the warrant for his execution. That seal is the solemn official affirmation by a great State of the insurrectionary right of the enslaved, it is a deliberate, time-hallowed approval of John Brown's appeal to force in behalf of the oppressed. Henry A. Wise has John Brown in his power; the champion of the slaveholding class will put to death the champion of the slave. So he said to the veteran who lay upon the stone floor, his blood flowing from many wounds. But we protest, in the name of truth and honesty, against the Governor's affixing the insurrectionary seal of Virginia to the official order for the execution of an insurgent. Let us have no hypocrisy. Virginia has reached a crisis in her history. She should go where she belongs—among the oppressors of the human race—and have the honesty to admit her position. She should break her present seal and adopt another more true to fact. The new one should represent in the fore-ground a slave-driver, whipping his drove to the field; in the back-ground, Governor Wise hanging John Brown; and the motto should be, 'Death to all champions of equal liberty.' This is really what the Governor holds to. Has he the manliness to act out his principles? Or will he continue scattering broadcast his insurrectionary imprints, and hanging those who believe their bloody lessons?—*New York Tribune*.

Governor Wise seems to have found out at last that he was a little too much in a hurry in claiming Brown and his confederates as the exclusive prisoners of Virginia. He has discovered that the United States have longer arms than the State of Virginia, and can reach those whom Virginia cannot. He has, therefore, concluded to release his hold upon one of the untried Harper's Ferry prisoners, and to hand him over to the United States Circuit Court, in the hopes not only of convicting him, but other persons also who may have been aware of and have aided in Brown's enterprise, though not present at the time of its execution.

In treason, all are principals; and assuming that the seizure and holding of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry was an act of treason against the United States, then all those, whether present or not, who can be shown to have aided in that seizure, knowing the object in view, may be included in the same indictment as principals. There does not seem to be any provision in the laws of the United States authorizing the Court to change the venue. It is even provided that in all capital cases, twelve petit jurors shall be summoned from the county in which the offence was committed. It is, therefore, possible in in this case to obtain bills of indictment by a Virginia grand jury, in the United States Circuit Court, against citizens of any of the States, to have them arrested by the authority of the United States, and brought to Virginia for trial, and then to have them tried by a Virginia petit jury, and even a jury from the same county in which the present State trials are going on. Nor would the prisoners, in case of conviction, have even the privilege of carrying up the case, on questions of law, to the Supreme Court of the United States. By a strange omission, no appeal is allowed in criminal cases had in the Federal Courts, not even those of life and death, so that the prisoners would have to abide as to the facts the verdict of a Virginia jury, and as to the law of the case, the decisions of a Virginia Circuit Judge.—*Tribune*.

SUCCESS MAKES THE DIFFERENCE.

Yes, it is the *successful* man that 'takes.' No matter what enterprise you engage in, if you succeed, you are a good fellow, and worty of applause; if you fail, though your mission is one that angels might envy, you are a miserable fellow. This is the way of the world.

When Louis Napoleon lived in second-rate boarding-houses in New York, and couldn't pay his washer-woman, he was styled 'a miserable adventurer;' when he sprinkled the streets of Paris with the blood of his own citizens, and sent every good man into exile, and then put on the cap of an Emperor, he was the wisest, the noblest, the bravest,—the everythingest that was great and good: and the virtuous Queen of England put a garter upon his limbs, and ate out of the same dish. Had a chance bullet let daylight into his vitals, he would have been only common carrion, and the *Champs Elysee* would never have glittered with his renown, and no *Te-Deums* would have been chanted in his behalf at Rome.

Had Old Brown rode like a thunderbolt through 'Old Virginia,'—had he force enough to have blasted every acre of her soil, and taken all her blacks, and whites too, and established himself on some isolated point where he could have kept all the government forces at bay,—why, he would have out-heroed Alexander himself; and men would have looked upon him as a god! But he had only a feeble handful of men—was miserably organized, and only sought to liberate, at his own peril, a few miserable and despised *niggers;* and failing, even in that, what else can be expected than that the 'chivalry' of all the States will consign him to everlasting infamy?—[*Provincetown Banner*.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 18, 1859.

THE PETITIONS,

For an Anti-Slave-Hunting Law, &c.

We trust that the friends of Freedom in Massachusetts have got the Petitions to the next Legislature fairly commenced in their respective towns, and the work of circulation entered upon. In many places, we are glad to know, the work is already far advanced. Let Massachusetts now do a thorough and honorable work, and make her soil truly and actually FREE. Let her true sons and daughters every where take hold of this work cheerly, and *at once*. In each town, let them divide the labor, and make sure that the petitions are offered for signature to every man and woman.

VERMONT has led the way, and set a noble example to her sister States. If those, whose minds and hearts are alive to the duties of the day, are not backward now, MASSACHUSETTS will take the same high ground this year. NEW YORK is pressing forward to do this same work, so clearly demanded by her honor and her self-respect; and there is great confidence that her next Legislature will take high and efficient action on the subject. MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE and RHODE ISLAND, at the East, OHIO, ILLINOIS and others at the West, are already moving; they cannot go back, and soon the whole North will be as one man, in repudiating forever the FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, and all who defend or uphold it.

FRIENDS! be vigilant and active. *Do your duty*, and the selfish foes of Liberty amongst us will cease from their heartless occupation.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to put an end to SLAVE-HUNTING, in Massachusetts, by enacting that no person who has been held as a Slave shall be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Federal, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes 'service or labor' to such claimant, by the laws of one of the Slave States of this Union.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts:

We, the undersigned, citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to remove from the State House grounds—as no honor to the State, and repugnant to the moral sentiment of THE PEOPLE—the STATUE OF DANIEL WEBSTER, whose last years were spent in defending the Fugitive Slave Bill, and whose last counsel to the Commonwealth was to 'conquer her prejudices' against Slave-hunting, and to return men to bondage 'with alacrity.'

EXECUTION OF CAPT. JOHN BROWN.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in Boston, Nov. 1st, the following Resolution was adopted:—

Resolved, That it is recommended to the friends of impartial freedom throughout the Free States, in case of the execution of Capt. JOHN BROWN, now on trial for his life in Virginia, to observe that tragical event, ON THE DAY OF ITS OCCURRENCE, in such manner as by them may be deemed most appropriate in their various localities—whether by public meetings and addresses, the adoption of resolutions, private conferences, or any other justifiable mode of action—for the furtherance of the Anti-Slavery cause, and renewedly to consecrate themselves to the patriotic and Christian work of effecting the abolition of that most dangerous, unnatural, cruel and impious system of slavery, which is the fruitful source of all our sectional heart-burnings and conflicts, which powerfully and increasingly tends to promote servile insurrection and civil war, which cannot be more truly or more comprehensively described than as 'THE SUM OF ALL VILLANIES,' which is a burning disgrace and fearful curse to the whole country, and by the speedy extinction of which, alone, can the land be saved from violence, blood, and utter demoralization.

This recommendation has been widely copied by the press, and is favorably regarded in all directions. The Committee leave the mode and hour of observance to local choice. It will be observed that their appeal is not to abolitionists in special, but to all who profess to deplore the existence of slavery, the great source of all our national troubles, perils, and threatening judgments. The object of it is to make a strong moral demonstration that shall powerfully impress the South, and to gather up and concentrate the feelings and sympathies engendered by the occasion into a live thunderbolt, to be hurled with divine assistance at the head of the Colossal Iniquity of the land. The Syracuse *Wesleyan* says—'Now that the sentence has been passed upon Capt. Brown, to be executed the 2d of December, the recommendation urges itself upon the attention of all true Christians and philanthropists in view, not of contingency, but of solemn reality.'

It is probable that a public meeting will be held in Boston on the evening of Dec. 2d, with reference to the tragic event of the day.

In whatever form that event may be observed, it is suggested that contributions should then be taken up for the benefit of the suffering family of Capt. Brown and those of his slaughtered sons, unless previously made.

CONVENTION AT CUMMINGTON. The Convention at Cummington holds to-morrow and next day, as will be seen by the notice in another column. We hope that the friends of freedom, in that part of the State, will take some pains to attend it, and to cause its voice to be heard throughout the State and Nation. No firmer or more intelligent friends of freedom live anywhere than are to be found among the hills of Western Massachusetts; and we trust they will do their whole duty to the cause in this eventful and glorious hour:—

'When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad
Earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from East
to west,
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul
within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem
of time.'

☞ Our readers will observe that, on account of public meetings to be held on Saturday and Monday next, Mrs. Dall's *third* and *last* lecture will be given at Mercantile Hall, on Saturday P. M., at 3 o'clock. It will be deeply reproachful to the women of Boston,—to say nothing of the men,—if the hall be not filled to its utmost capacity. These lectures have been prepared with great labor, and evince a wide range of reading, rare literary ability, and a high and noble purpose.

THE SITUATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Dr. S. G. Howe says, in his letter in another column, that among the statutes of the American Union there exist certain deadly instruments by which the people of the North may be forced to uphold and defend the barbarous system of human slavery.

He says further, that Massachusetts is so trammelled by the bonds of the Union, that, as matters now stand, she cannot, or dares not, protect her citizens from being kidnapped by the slave power, and carried beyond her jurisdiction.

What is, to Dr. Howe, the value of a Union which at once commits an outrage upon his liberty, and restrains his native State, the community by which he is most highly respected and honored, from protecting him?

What is, to the Republican party, the value of a Union which repays their shouts of allegiance by assault upon one of their most honored leaders, and with that very allegiance ties their hands from defending him?

What is, to Massachusetts, the value of a Union which not only permits, but assists the commission of outrage upon the rights of her noblest citizens? and that *upon her own soil*, as well as within the domain of other States, preposterously called *sister* States, though they gnash their teeth at the mention of her name, insolently trample upon her Constitutional rights, deny her citizens who chance to come within their boundaries all freedom of speech and of the press, the rights of unmolested residence and locomotion, and the protection of law and its officers when they are assailed; nay, which make *their* law and its officers, *ex officio*, the most dangerous enemies of the people of Massachusetts!

Is not this *Union*, as described by Dr. Howe himself, very like that by which Peter was united to two soldiers, 'bound with two chains'? Does not a Providential voice say to us as to him—'Arise up quickly'?

C. K. W.

Extract of a letter from a friend in the neighborhood of New York:—

'I heard with the deepest interest and with great satisfaction Wendell Phillips's lecture in Brooklyn on Tuesday evening, 1st inst. It has created a profound sensation here. It was the heroic, courageous word, just and truthful, needed in a critical hour. He had, in a large degree, the sympathies of the immense audience. Much as I admire his whole life, and love his noble character, I never before felt so fully to thank God for Wendell Phillips.'

Referring to the same lecture, the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* exclaims, 'Grand! glorious! John Brown deserves such an advocate, and Wendell Phillips is worthy of such a client.'

Our friend Adin Ballou, of the *Practical Christian*, makes the following criticism:—

PHILLIPS ON BROWN. The young men of Henry Ward Beecher's congregation, Brooklyn, N. Y., are having a course of lectures. Wendell Phillips recently delivered one of the course, in Mr. Beecher's church, to a vast audience of delighted and astonished hearers, taking for his subject *The Lesson of The Hour*, Ossawatomie Brown's heroism. Mr. Phillips is a confirmed believer in the occasional necessity and utility of red revolution for humanity's sake. He is curbed by no professions, perhaps by no silent monitions of Christian Non-Resistance, and his lecture as reported shows that he goes in with a will for firelocks and sabres in behalf of a good cause, especially the abolition of slavery. Our personal admiration and friendship are with him, but our highest moral principles and convictions oblige us to protest against his red revolutionism, even though the *end* may seem to sanctify the *means*. However, we have one comfort left in his case; he makes no pretension to being a Non-Resistant.

Of course, it is not to be expected that our friend Ballou, with his non-resistance principles, should endorse everything in the lecture referred to; but, surely, he cannot fail to place a high estimate upon Mr. Phillips's fidelity to his own convictions of duty, to his exalted consistency of action, and to his rare moral courage in the utterance of the sentiments that came glowing from his lips. For one, we are free to say, that if Mr. Phillips had not thus spoken, we should have been equally surprised and mortified.

This lecture has been put into a tract, which may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Price 3 cents.

The lecture of Mr. Phillips, delivered as the opening one of the course of the Fraternity Lectures at the Tremont Temple, in tract form, is also for sale at the same place. To which is added Mr. P's memorable Letter to Judge Shaw and President Walker on the Temperance question. Price 5 cents.

☞ The Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Pastor of the Church of the Disciples in Boston, and Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, preached on the Harper's Ferry Invasion, on Sunday, 6th inst. His text is a key to what he said: 'Herod feared John, knowing him to be a just man.' He thought the tragedy at Harper's Ferry freighted with consequences. It was like the clock, striking the fatal hour—the hour of the beginning of a new era in the conflict of Slavery. Such men as John Brown die, but their acts live forever. Call it fanaticism, folly, madness, wickedness—it rises before you stiff with its calm, marble features, more terrible in defeat and death than in life and victory—the awful lineaments of conscience. It is one of those acts of madness which History cherishes and Poetry loves forever to adorn with her choicest wreath of laurel.

SAFE ARRIVAL HOME. The numerous friends of Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY will be gratified to learn that, after an absence of ten months on a European tour for the benefit of his health, (which has been greatly improved by it,) he arrived safely at Boston on the 5th inst., where he was warmly greeted by a social gathering of his relatives and co-workers in the cause of suffering humanity. He then proceeded to Syracuse. Though arriving at eleven at night, he was met by a large crowd at the depot, who gave him a hearty welcome. The next day, he received the congratulations of his friends, and a public reception was arranged for him for the evening. He was received by his entire congregation at Convention Hall, and the services were of an unusually interesting character. Not the least agreeable incident of the evening was the presentation of a gold watch to the Rev. Joseph Angier of Milton, Mass., who has so acceptably supplied the pulpit during Mr. May's absence. It was truly unexpected, and so overcome by his feelings was he, that he was unable to respond.

☞ No department of our paper should be read so carefully or so thoughtfully as the 'Refuge of Oppression' at this time. It reveals a ferocity of spirit and an infernalism of purpose worthy of fiends. It shows who are the real cowards, assassins and murderers, and whose passions are 'set on fire of hell.'—Let them rave and foam, and gnash their teeth, and utter their lies, and belch forth their blasphemies, and exude their poisonous venom, and avow their murderous purposes—their overthrow is only a question of time.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS. The Rochester *Express of* the 9th says:—'Frederick Douglass started yesterday for England, via Montreal, on his contemplated European tour. He will find in the shadow of European royalties the appreciation which he justly merits as a refined gentleman and scholar, but which is in a great measure denied him in Democratic America.'

☞ We are obliged to defer the publication of the interesting proceedings of the Harwich Anti-Slavery Convention until another number, as well as much other matter. Everything must give way to a full and prompt record of the facts and incidents connected with the Harper's Ferry tragedy, which is now the all-absorbing topic of thought and conversation in all parts of the land. Correspondents must exercise all possible patience.

MRS. CHILD AND JOHN BROWN.

The following dastardly fling at one of the noblest and most gifted women of this or any other age appeared in the Boston *Transcript* a few days since. Of course, it is anonymous; for the author of it must be consciously a coward and a sneak, and hence has no perception of true heroism in others. The editor of the *Transcript* ought to blush for its appearance in his columns without censure.

GOV. WISE'S LETTER TO MRS. L. MARIA CHILD.—*Mr. Editor*,—The non-fulfilment of this lady's desire to visit Brown, after the receipt of a most courteous and well-conceived reply from the Executive of Virginia, has occasioned some surprise and remark, in circles where she is duly appreciated. We have for many years past supposed that this distinguished abolitionist held herself ready to leap into the 'imminent breach' whenever a chance occurred. We have no doubt that *the* Florence Nightingale of Wayland may turnish the public with reasons, sufficient or insufficient, for the course she has adopted. It is not the first time that acts have come short of the sounding phrase of the manifesto. X. Y.

The following letters furnish a crushing refutation of this cowardly innuendo:—

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

SIR: I was much surprised to see my correspondence with Governor Wise published in your columns. As I have never given any person a copy, I presume you must have obtained it from Virginia. My proposal to go and nurse that brave and generous old man, who so willingly gives his life a sacrifice for God's oppressed poor, originated in a very simple and unmeritorious impulse of kindness. I heard his friends inquiring, 'Has he no wife, or sister, that can go to nurse him?' We are trying to ascertain, for he needs some one.' My niece said she would go at once, if her health were strong enough to be trusted. I replied that my age and state of health rendered me a more suitable person to go, and that I would go most gladly. I accordingly wrote to Captain Brown, and enclosed the letter to Governor Wise. My intention was to slip away quietly, without having the affair made public. I packed my trunk and collected a quantity of old linen for lint, and awaited tidings from Virginia. When Governor Wise answered, he suggested the 'imprudence of trying any experiment upon the peace of a society already greatly excited,' &c. My husband and I took counsel together, and we both concluded that, as the noble old veteran was said to be fast recovering from his wounds, and as my presence might create a popular excitement unfavorable to such chance as the prisoner had for a fair trial, I had better wait until I received a reply from Captain Brown himself. Fearing to do him more harm than good by following my impulse, I waited for his own sanction. Meanwhile, his wife, said to be a brave-hearted Roman matron, worthy of such a mate, has gone to him, and I have received the following reply.

Respectfully yours,
L. MARIA CHILD.

Boston, Nov. 10, 1859.

MRS. L. MARIA CHILD. MY DEAR FRIEND (such you prove to be, though a stranger,): Your most kind letter has reached me, with the kind offer to come here and take care of me. Allow me to express my gratitude for your great sympathy, and at the same time to propose to you a different course, together with my reasons for wishing it. I should certainly be greatly pleased to become personally acquainted with one so gifted and so kind, but I cannot avoid seeing some objections to it, under present circumstances. First, I am in charge of a most humane gentleman, who, with his family, have rendered me every possible attention I have desired, or that could be of the least advantage; and I am so recovered of my wounds as no longer to require nursing. Then, again, it would subject you to great personal inconvenience and heavy expense, without doing me any good. Allow me to name to you another channel through which you may reach me with your sympathies much more effectually. I have at home a wife and three young daughters, the youngest but little over five years old, the oldest nearly sixteen. I have also two daughters-in-law, whose husbands have both fallen near me here. There is also another widow, Mrs. Thomson, whose husband fell here. Whether she is a mother or not, I cannot say. All these, my wife included, live at North Elba, Essex county, New York. I have a middle-aged son, who has been, in some degree, a cripple from his childhood, who would have as much as he could well do to earn a living. He was a most dreadful sufferer in Kansas, and lost all he had laid up. He has not enough to clothe himself for the winter comfortably. I have no living son, or son-in-law, who did not suffer terribly in Kansas.

Now, dear friend, would you not as soon contribute fifty cents now, and a like sum yearly, for the relief of those very poor and deeply afflicted persons, to enable them to supply themselves and their children with bread and very plain clothing, and to enable the children to receive a common English education? Will you also devote your own energies to induce others to join you in giving a like amount, or any other amount, to constitute a little fund for the purpose named?

I cannot see how your coming here can do me the least good; and I am quite certain you can do immense good where you are. I am quite cheerful under all my afflicting circumstances and prospects; having, as I humbly trust, 'the peace of God which passeth all understanding,' to rule in my heart. You may make such use of this as you see fit. God Almighty bless and reward you a thousand-fold!

Yours in sincerity and truth,
JOHN BROWN.

The reply of John Brown is nobly characteristic of himself. His tender and considerate allusion to his own destitute family, and the families of those who have fallen with him, we trust will tend to prompt measures for their relief by pecuniary contributions in different parts of the country. Of Mrs. Child, the '*Herald of Gospel Liberty*' says:—

'All honor to such a woman—the noble-hearted, the great-hearted Lydia Maria Child. She honors herself and her sex by her action. She does not justify his deeds; but she sees through them an honest man, broken down and maddened by the calamities that have befallen him, misguided, but not malicious or depraved; and now when friends are absent, when foes are around, when gloom covers his track, and death approaches hastily, she would wash the matted blood from his wounded head, relieve the pains he suffers, and soften and lighten his path-way to the tomb. God bless a woman's heart that turns not from duty at the sight of prison walls or the blackened scaffold!'

LETTER FROM DR. S. G. HOWE.

John Brown's self-concocted, independent raid into Virginia, (which took his friends by surprise as much as his enemies,) has been a jubilee for 'Democratic' scoundrelism; but the impudent attempt of the purchased tools and pimps of the Administration to make such men as Seward, Sumner, Giddings, &c., &c., privy to the 'treason,' will surely cause a tremendous recoil in the end. Read the following letter from Dr. Howe:—

BOSTON, Nov. 14, 1859.

Rumor has mingled my name with the events at Harper's Ferry. So long as it rested on such absurdities as letters written *to* me by Col. Forbes, or others, it was too idle for notice. But when complicity is distinctly charged by one of the parties engaged, my friends beseech me to define my position; and I consent, the less reluctantly, because I divest myself of what, in time, might be considered an honor, and I want no undeserved ones.

As regards Mr. Cook, to the best of my knowledge and belief, I never saw him; never corresponded with him; never even heard of him until since the outbreak at Harper's Ferry. That event was unforeseen and unexpected by me; nor does all my previous knowledge of John Brown enable me to reconcile it with his characteristic prudence, and his reluctance to shed blood, or excite servile insurrection. It is still to me a mystery and a marvel.

As to the heroic man who planned and led that forlorn hope, my relations with him in former times were such as no man ought to be afraid or ashamed to avow. If ever my testimony to his high qualities can be of use to him or his, it shall be forthcoming at the fitting time and place. But neither this nor any other testimony shall be extorted for unrighteous purposes, if I can help it.

There are, among the statutes of our Union, certain weapons, concealed as are the claws of the cat, in a velvet paw, which are seemingly harmless, but are really deadly instruments by which we of the North may be forced to uphold and defend the barbarous system of human slavery. For instance, a dishonest judge, in the remotest South, or in far off California, may, upon the affidavit of any white person, that the testimony of any citizen of Massachusetts is wanted in a criminal suit, send a Marshal, who may take such citizen before the judge, and there, among strangers, to recognize for his appearance in court, or be committed to jail.

Upon the stand, such expressions of opinion may be drawn from him as will mark him for an Abolitionist, and turn him out of the Court House to the tender mercies of a people once called chivalrous and generous, but among whom the love of fair play seems rapidly dying out.

Such martyrdom might be coveted by some, if any high purpose were to be gained by it; but it is especially undesirable when the testimony is not sought with open and righteous, but with false and revengeful purpose.

I am told by high legal authority, that Massachusetts is so trammeled by the bonds of the Union, that, as matters now stand, she cannot, or dare not, protect her citizens from such forcible extradition; and that each one must protect himself, as best he may. Upon that hint I shall act; preferring to forego anything rather than the right to free thought and free speech.

Yours, faithfully, S. G. HOWE.

MRS. DALL'S SECOND LECTURE.

The second lecture of Mrs. Dall's course on 'Woman's Right to Labor,' delivered last Monday evening, spoke of those avenues to respectable and remunerative labor which are now open to women, and of the practical opposition which each new one will have, as most of these have had, to encounter. The lecturer gave affecting and instructive details of the manner in which each inch of this new ground has been won for women, by the heroic persistence of individuals in learning and practising arts, trades and professions, to the conduct of which they felt themselves competent, against not only the difficulties inherent in these several tasks, but against factitious discouragements, created and imposed by men who wished to monopolize the gain of these several departments. She enforced anew the representation of the last lecture, that the root of this evil is not only a contempt for women, but a contempt for labor, existing in the community; and she urged, as a remedy, that women should, as a matter of course, like men, apply themselves to the learning and practising of some art, trade, business or profession by which money may be made. The advantages of this course would be, to hasten the process now going on, of equalizing the wages of male and female labor, to relieve that class of women who are not dependent upon their labor for a subsistence from that indolent vacuity which is the bane of so many lives, and to make the whole sex, in form as well as in fact, self-supporting, enabling the unmarried to support themselves, and the married more efficiently to help their husbands. The lecture closed with an impressive representation of the manner in which women are repelled from co-operation in the various occupations and professions which give a respectable standing in society to men, by the jealous and selfish opposition of the present incumbents, and of the shamefulness (and shamelessness too) of the reasons urged for such exclusion.

It is unspeakably disgraceful to the Unitarian clergy, (I specify them, because the Orthodox clergy, intent mainly on preparing people for death, do not pretend any particular solicitude for the interests that belong to this life,) that they do not show interest enough in this immensely important subject even to attend Mrs. Dall's lectures, though she offers them free admission. Pretending an interest in good morals, in improvement, in all that belongs to human welfare *here*, as well as hereafter, it was their duty to illustrate the necessities, to demand the rights, and to inculcate the duties of woman in their teaching and preaching; but, having utterly neglected this duty, and contented themselves with echoing the crudities of Homer and Solomon in regard to woman's sphere, they should at least come to hear a person so competent to discourse upon this subject, and so diligent in preparing herself to do it justice, as Mrs. Dall, if it were only to give her, and their congregations, the benefit of their criticism. Even this, however, is too much to be hoped from the mass of the clergy, and the few exceptional instances speedily incur suspicion and reproach among their clerical brethren. They have become so timid about venturing in advance of their people, that the lyceum now preaches a much higher tone of morality than the pulpit. The days of miracles being past, these successors of the prophets have openly gone and taken up their residence in Tarshish, without any apprehension of the catastrophe which overtook Jonah.—C. K. W.

☞ On Wednesday, Nov. 2d, an address, introductory to the winter's course of Medical Lectures in the New England Female Medical College, was delivered by Prof. Marie E. Zakrzewska, the Resident Physician. The handsome building in Springfield street, originally erected for a Lying-in-Hospital, has now been purchased by the Female Medical College, and adapted to its purposes. The lecture-room was crowded with a highly intelligent audience, chiefly of ladies, and the lecture, an hour and a half in length, received most earnest attention.

It gave a clear and judicious analysis of the motives which should lead women to enter upon a course of medical study, and of the qualifications needful to such an undertaking. This was followed by a sketch of the progress of Medical Science, from those early days when it was shrouded in fable, and when Æsculapius was deemed of super-human ancestry, through its various phases of pagan mysticism and monkish superstition, to the enlarged knowledge and improved methods of the present day. The lecturer spoke of Paracelsus in ancient, and Hahnemann in modern times, as among those who have materially modified the medical practice prevailing in their respective periods. She insisted earnestly on the importance of thorough and accurate knowledge, in one who undertakes the weighty responsibilities of medical practice; she touched, with quiet but effective satire, upon the unreasonable expectations often entertained, and the preposterous demands made, by patients upon physicians; and her closing address to the class who were about to commence their course of medical studies was an earnest, noble and affecting appeal to the highest motives, urging a high estimate of the duties of a physician, and a conscientious persistence in the effort to make adequate preparation for them. Well would it be if the young *men* in our medical schools, all over the country, could hear from *their* teachers such appeals to the highest and best in their natures.—C. K. W.

☞ The seventh lecture in the Fraternity Course was delivered Tuesday evening at the Tremont Temple, by Mrs. SARAH JAN

GOVERNOR CHASE. The Governor of Ohio, Mr. Chase, explicitly denies that he ever received copies of any such letters as the fellow Forbes says he sent him. Forbes's words are:

'Please show to Messrs. Sanborn, Lawrence & Co. Copies will be sent to Gov. Chase, who found money, and Gov. Fletcher, who contributed arms, and to others interested, as quickly as possible.'

Gov. Chase's denial is—

'No copy of the letter was ever sent to Governor Chase; at least, no copy of any such letter was ever received by him. He received no intimation from any source or at any time of any purpose on the part of Forbes to run off negroes, or on the part of Brown to excite insurrection among the slaves. As to his finding money, it is enough to say, that in 1855-6, while the contest for freedom in Kansas against the attempts to force Slavery into that Territory was undecided, Gov. Chase, in common with his fellow-citizens in this and other States, contributed according to his ability in aid of the Free State cause. For no other purpose with which Old Brown was connected was any money ever 'found' or furnished by him.

We make these statements upon the authority of the Governor himself.—*Columbus Ohio State Journal.*

The same is said, in substance, by Senator Hale, in a long and an explicit letter published in the Chicago *Tribune*.

☞ Mr. C. S. DICKINSON, formerly a teacher of gymnastics and calisthenics in Cleveland, Ohio, has opened a school for physical training at 17 Summer street. His method is a novel and philosophical one, tending to develop all parts of the body equally, and to bring into play various muscles little used, without endangering any part of the system from over-exertion. The exercises are accompanied by *music*, which turns the work into play, and gives a zest and interest to the pupil. Classes are open for both ladies and gentlemen, and all who desire to possess sound bodies and enjoy good health are invited to give Mr. D. a call, and see for themselves. He is to be found at the Hygeia-Rhythmic Institute, 17 Summer street, every afternoon.

☞ The sermon on our last page, by Rev. E. M. Wheelock, of Dover, N. H., in reference to the Harper's Ferry event, was delivered before one of the largest audiences ever convened in Dover, and is remarkable for its earnestness, and boldness of speech. Has any thing quite equal to it been heard in any pulpit since 'the times that tried men's souls'? It is true, we cannot approve its warlike tone; yet our respect for its spirit is immeasurable, compared with the inconsistent, twaddling, shuffling, *falsely peaceful* tone of the sermon of Henry Ward Beecher on the same subject. [See extracts in another column.]

GERRIT SMITH'S INSANITY.—With regard to the insanity of Gerrit Smith, the Utica *Herald* says:—

We are greatly pained to learn that Gerrit Smith, the free-hearted but sadly erratic philanthropist, became on Monday last an inmate of the New York State Lunatic Asylum, where it has been found necessary to place him on account of marked insanity. We learn that he is very violent, and has exhibited a disposition to commit suicide, and that an attendant keeps constant watch over him to prevent him from laying violent hands on himself. This result we hear attributed to the connection of Mr. Smith's name with the Harper's Ferry affair, though many will regard it as the consequence of long-seated and marked disease.

Mr. Smith is said to have an hereditary predisposition to insanity. His father, Peter Smith, though the possessor of an immense estate, and surrounded by every circumstance of prosperity, was subject to fits of profound despondency, during which he was under the impression that he would die a beggar.

Unlike his noted son, he was exceedingly sharp in his bargains and money affairs. It is also said that the late Peter Sken Smith, the brother of Gerrit, was for sometime an inmate of a lunatic asylum, though, when he died, he was generally regarded as in possession of his reason. Gerrit Smith has lost all his children except one, the wife of Col. Miller, of Peterboro'. A nephew of Mrs. Smith, Col. Fitzhugh, was the captor of the fugitive Cook, a fact which greatly disturbed the mind of Mr. Smith. John Cochrane, a democratic politician of this city, another nephew of Gerrit Smith, has also, by his speeches, purged himself of any complicity in the Harper's Ferry affair.

UTICA, Nov. 10, 1858.

Gerrit Smith shows continued marks of insanity. No one is allowed to see him, but it is understood that he refers in his ravings to the Harper's Ferry matter, and supposes himself arrested.

☞ The *Utica Observer* of the 10th says that Gerrit Smith, though very deranged, is *not* violent. He is suffering from bodily as well as mental illness.

An Albany paper has published the statement that for sometime past, Mr. Smith had his house surrounded by armed men, to prevent his being taken to Virginia. This is erroneous. Burglars entered his business office by night during the last summer, and carried away a large sum of money, and examined and disturbed his most valuable papers. When every effort to discover the bold offenders had failed, and the exposure of the citizens of the quiet village to successful pillage was thus demonstrated, Mr. Smith with his customary generosity hired a night patrol for the security of Peterboro'. In the Asylum, Mr. Smith now occupies the room once tenanted by the Hon. John M. Niles, formerly United States Senator from the State of Connecticut. Soon after his admission, he refused to take an anodyne, alleging that the physicians only wanted to put him to sleep for the purpose of boxing him up and taking him to Virginia.—When informed that he must take it, voluntarily or by compulsion, he opened the door and screamed (into the hall) 'I protest!' He then took it quietly. It is said that it was only by a stratagem that his friends succeeded in getting him to Utica. For some days before the absolute necessity of restrictive measures became apparent, he manifested a most nervous anxiety to anticipate the requisition which he expected would be made upon him, and to proceed to Virginia and surrender himself into the hands of the authorities. When it was resolved to place him under restraint, this anxiety was taken advantage of. His friends chimed in with this notion, and when he set out for Utica, he was under the impression that he was on his way to Richmond.

DEATH OF WATSON BROWN. Watson Brown, the younger son of 'Ossawattomie,' and who was desperately wounded by the Martinsburgh men (he has since died) on Monday forenoon, suffered intensely on Monday night, several times requesting his comrades to dash out his brains with their guns, and thus relieve his sufferings. On Tuesday morning his agony had apparently become unendurable, and seizing a pistol, he was about to shoot himself in the head, when his father, staying his hand, calmly told him that the time had not yet arrived for such a deed as that—to endure a little longer, and he might die as befitted a man. We saw and spoke with the young man a few minutes after the assault, and could not divest our heart of something akin to pity for him. He feelingly inquired if his father was alive, and on being answered in the affirmative, looked his thankfulness. He was informed of the death of his brother in the assault, but exhibited no emotion at the announcement.—*Baltimore Exchange.*

One of Brown's sons, who was elected to the Legislature in February, 1850, was seized and taken from Ossawattomie to Lecompton in chains, a distance of thirty miles. His feet and hands were chained together with a large heavy chain, the size of that used upon ox teams. He was compelled to walk the whole distance beneath a burning sun. The irons wore the flesh from his ancles; he was attacked with brain fever, was neglected, and died in two or three days. Another son of Captain Brown was shot at Ossawattomie by a marauding party from Missouri.

THE NEGRO UNIFORM TO BE CHANGED. — The Charleston people are calling for a revival of the laws of 1740 and 1783, regulating negro costume, which have been allowed for so long a time to become obsolete that in matters of dress the distinction between master and slave is abolished. 'It will not do,' says a correspondent of the Charleston *Courier*, 'to hoodwink our eyes to what vitally concerns the future peace and well-being of the community. The love of dress in the negro may be considered as the parent of all the other vices, destroying the virtue of the females, and rendering both sexes insufferably impertinent. The most expensive fabrics in our dry good stores are now sold to colored females, so that the only distinguishing mark between the lady and her maid is that the latter flaunts the most elegant dresses upon the streets.

'Let us, then, return to the 'good old times' when these ebon dames neither preserved their complexions from a darker shade by wearing 'uglies' and veils, nor swept the sidewalks with their rich brocades and silks, and when the dandy barber and tailor-boy did not sport his 'puppy switch,' or perfume the air with his fragrant weed.'

ALARM MOVEMENTS IN MARYLAND.

On the night of the 4th inst., a slave man belonging to Washington Waller, Esq., was shot dead by a patrol of white men in Dames Quarter district, Somerset county, Md. The *Union* says the circumstances are substantially as follows:—

'On Thursday night a needless alarm of insurrection and murder was given in a meeting-house in the neighborhood. The congregation, we learn, were at prayers at the time the alarm was given; the prayers were forgotten, and the utmost confusion and excitement prevailed; the benches were broken up for clubs, and with these and such weapons as the men could obtain at the time, they scoured the neighborhood; but finding nothing upon which to vent their indignation, they dispersed, still under great excitement.

The following night a patrol was organized, and with guns, clubs and other weapons, they proceeded under great excitement to search the huts of the free negroes in the neighborhood; at one of these huts the unfortunate negro was found. He was attempting to escape when fired upon by the excited crowd, who mistook him for an insurgent. The shot pierced his back, taking effect in his lungs and bowels, and producing instant death. This has all, we have no doubt, grown out of the excitement produced by the Harper's Ferry affair.'

We copy the following from the Frederick County *Union*:—

Two suspicious looking boxes arrived at the Point of Rocks, in this county, on Saturday last, which, on being opened, were found to contain a lot of caps, powder and ball cartridges. They were directed to a lady who is not known in that vicinity, and who has not yet made her appearance to claim them.

Military companies are organizing at Urbana, New Market, Liberty, Mechanicstown and in several other villages of Frederick county. The martial spirit is up, and our people are their own best defenders.

A white man was arrested in Carroll county, Md., last week, who had with him a wagon and provisions, and was accompanied by a colored man and woman, supposed to be *en route* for a free State. They are now in jail at Westminster. Mr. George E. Wampley, of Westminster, writes to Mayor Berret, of Washington city, to the following effect:—

The woman is supposed to be a slave of Clark Mills of Washington, and the man, who is her husband, is owned in Prince George's county, but was hired in Washington. The white man is said to have resided in Washington for the last two years. It is probable he will be sent to Virginia to answer the charge of attempting to run off Col. Lee's slaves. The negro woman says she was brought from the college in your city. The negro man has not revealed where he came from, but the white man says he came from Washington, and the whole conveyance is well prepared to aid negroes. The white man is fully identified as the man who was with Col. Lee's black last spring, and who was taken from here in July last by one of the city officers.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12.—A man was arrested here last night, on suspicion of being one of the Harper's Ferry insurgents. He was in disguise, and says his name is Macdonald, and that he belongs to Boston.—He has several wounds on his body.

☞ A Virginia soldier, one of the Public Guard that gives security to the sleep of the citizens of Richmond, by name Simmons, is fallen into trouble by reason of the 'irrepressible conflict.' He is under arrest for uttering sentiments of a decided Anti-Slavery character, and sympatnizing with Old Brown and his associates. The men who heard him gave information to Capt. Dimmock, who, with his officers, inquired into the matter. Gov. Wise deems the offence one that comes under the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, and Simmons will accordingly have a hearing before the Mayor. *The Richmond Dispatch* says it is somewhat important that the soldiers of the State Guard should be all right on a question so intimately connected with the welfare of the community, and rather dangerous to give expression to seditious language in Virginia, particularly at this time.

☞ The Alexandria (Va.) correspondent of *The Washington Star* states the following as a fact:—'A man named Stilwell, the driver of an express wagon, was brought before Justice Summers on Tuesday, on a peace-warrant issued at the instance of the Commonwealth's Attorney, charging him with expressing sentiments denunciatory of Southern institutions and people, while in conversation on the subject of the Harper's Ferry foray. The Justice required him to give bail in the sum of $500 to keep the peace.'

THE SENTENCE OF THE HARPER'S FERRY PRISONERS.

CHARLESTOWN, Va., Nov. 10.

The Court remained in session until 9 o'clock last night, when a verdict of guilty was rendered against Cook, for murder and insurrection.

Mr. Voorhees delivered a powerful address to the jury in favor of the prisoner, drawing tears from the eyes of the most embittered of his auditors.

This morning a motion for a new trial was argued and overruled.

District Attorney Harding refuses to sign a *nolle pros.* in favor of Stevens, demanding that he shall be tried in Virginia. The Court, however, has handed the prisoner over to the United States Marshal.

CHARLESTOWN, Va., Nov. 11.

When the prisoners were brought out for sentence, the negro Copeland and Green declined to say anything, and Cook and Coppie both addressed the Court, denying that they had any knowledge of Brown's intentions to seize the Ferry until the Sunday previous, when they were called upon to take the oath of obedience to the Commander. They expected to be punished, but did not think they should be hung.

Hazlett will not be tried until the May term of the Court.

The negroes are to be hung on the morning of the 16th, and the whites during the afternoon of the same day.

We copy the following from the Charlestown correspondence of the New York *Tribune*, the letter being dated Nov. 10:

The Court did not meet very early this morning, Judge Parker having, no doubt, been occupied in examining exceptions and motions in arrest. At about 11 o'clock the hall began to fill, and by the time the prisoners were ready to receive sentence, it was crowded to the full extent of its capacity. The prisoners having been severally asked if they had anything to say, previous to listening to sentence of death, Coppic rose and spoke thus:

'The charges that have been made against me are not true. I never committed any treason against the State of Virginia. I never made war upon it. I never conspired with anybody to induce your slaves to rebel, and I never even exchanged a word with one of your servants. What I came here for, I always told you. It was to run off slaves into a Free State, and liberate them there. This is an offence against your laws, I admit, but I never committed murder. When I escaped to the engine house, and found the Captain and his prisoners surrounded there, I saw no way of deliverance but by fighting a little. If anybody was killed on that occasion, it was in a fair fight. I have, as I said, committed an offence against your laws, but the punishment for that offence would be very different from what you are going to inflict on me now. I have no more to say.'

It will readily be seen that this statement coincides exactly with, and substantiates the account, which I sent you a few days ago, from Brown's own lips, of his real intention in this expedition. The next two prisoners, the negro and mulatto, Green and Copeland, when called upon, said nothing. When Cooke's turn came, he delivered, in a hesitating, nervous manner, a speech, which had probably been carefully prepared. He said, in substance, that he had not come to commit treason or murder, but merely in pursuance of orders from his Commander-in-Chief, with a design to liberate slaves. As to the sword and pistols of George Washington, taken from Lewis Washington's house, he said they were seized by order of Brown, not for purposes of robbery, but for the sake of the moral effect that their possession might afford in case of a war of liberation. At the conclusion of his not very effective speech, Judge Parker pronounced sentence of death, in a manner showing genuine sincerity of emotion and pity—feelings which did not seem to be shared by his hearers.

The prisoners were then remanded. The day fixed for the execution is the 16th of December. There is, however, very strong reason to believe that the indictments will not hold together in the Court of Appeals. The most prominent of the native lawyers here have expressed great doubts as to whether they could stand under some of the objections taken by Mr. Sennott and others. In case strict legal justice were exercised, the matter would be beyond a doubt; but 'these fellows do not stand upon points,' and the determination to secure the prompt punishment of the invaders is so strong, that it is possible that all inaccuracies of the trials will be overlooked. Nothing can compare with the flexibility of the Virginia law.

☞ The Editor of *The Herald* in this city says that he has seen a letter from Gov. Wise of Virginia, in which he states that there is no possibility of a pardon or reprieve being extended to Brown, who therefore will certainly be executed on the appointed day. He characteristically adds, 'and perhaps it is better that he should be.'—*Tribune.*

A TALE OF HORROR.

A story so strange as hardly to be believed has for some days been whispered among our citizens, and has at length taken form so definite that we cannot longer hesitate in giving it to our readers. For the sake of humanity we hope that some explanation may yet be given of facts which seem so atrocious. In this hope we suppress all names, and omit also circumstances which deepen the criminality of the act, but which are not yet confirmed by strict legal evidence.

Some ten years ago, there appeared in a family of this city a child about five years of age. Her parentage was unknown, or hinted only in side whispers. She was treated as a child of the family, was admitted to our public schools as a white child, was for some time a member of Trinity Church Sunday School with other children of the same family. Hundreds of children now growing up to maturity in our midst have been her associates in play and in study.

At the death of the lady who had brought her here, the child was committed to a daughter of the family, and by her put out to service, at first in this city and afterwards in Providence. In the latter city about a year ago, appeared two persons, who claimed to represent the girl's mother, a slave in New Orleans, and carried her thither, much against her own wishes, as is represented by those who had charge of her. In New Orleans it is supposed that she lived for a while as a domestic in the family of the daughter of that lady who had been her patroness here. She had now become a young woman, fifteen years of age; so white that no one who had known her ever suspected the mixture of negro blood; so attractive that she was worth a thousand dollars for purposes such that we cannot sully our sheet by a plainer expression of them. The next thing we hear of her, is the following letter from *herself*.—*Newport (R. I.) News.*

NEW ORLEANS CITY, Oct. 9, 1859.

MRS. ———:—I now take my pen in hand to write you these few lines, to let you know what Mr. ——— and Mr. ——— are. You know them. Last winter my mother came for me; I was in Providence, and Miss ——— said that my mother might sell me if I came here. On the ninth of September I was arrested by two Police Officers, which Mr. ——— got the order from Mr. ——— to carry me to the negro trader's yard, to be sold to the highest bidder; but the officers took me and locked me up in jail, but the officers took pity on me, and put me in there for safe keeping, because if they had carried me to the trader's yard, my mother would not see me again, for Miss ——— was all the while telling me that my mother would sell me. But now Mr. ——— has turned round and done such a mean thing, everybody thinks a very little of the family. I mean the ———, for they are not any more respected now than a common working man. They want one thousand dollars for me. I never had the thought that Mr. ——— would do the like of that. The officers think that it is a very mean thing indeed. I must put my letter to a close. I hope you and all your family are well. I am not very well; I have a very bad cold from being in Jail. Mr. ———, please write me a letter as soon as you can, and when I get a letter from you I will write you more. If you see ———, tell him all about it from ———. When I was at the North, they called me ———. When I wanted to come back, Mr. ——— said they had dressed me up so that I would not know my work. When there I had about four dollars worth; now I never go out but I have sixty dollars on my back.

☞ A letter from Bedford county, Tenn., addressed to the Postmaster of St. Louis, states that there is a girl 12 years old, held as a slave in that vicinity, who claims to be the daughter of Peter McGregory, a St. Louis merchant. She says that she was at boarding school, when a man came and told her that her father had sent for her. Instead of taking her home, however, he carried her to Memphis, and sold her as a slave, threatening to kill her if she said she was free. The St. Louis *Democrat*, in publishing the account, says there is a merchant of the name of McGregory in that city, but does not vouch for the truth of the letter.

KIDNAPPING AT COLUMBUS, OHIO.

A mulatto man was seized at the railroad depot yesterday morning, forced on board the 8,40 train for Cincinnati, and carried off. The seizure was made by Deputy Marshal Jacob Lowe, who also holds the office of Deputy Sheriff of Franklin county, and Robert Mitchell, Constable of this city, and a number of helpers. No warrant or authority of any kind was shown. They told the bystanders that he had been robbing somebody. Although the man was seized by as many as could find a place to take hold, being a powerful man he threw them off, and it was only after a contest that lasted, we are credibly informed, half or three quarters of an hour that they succeeded in subduing him so as to force him in the cars; during the struggle, Deputy Lowe taking every available chance to hit him on the head with a heavy cane.

A colored man named Henry Alfred relates the following circumstances: He and Rice lived at Mount Gilead. A man by the name of D. C. Watson, who had been here several days, engaged Rice and himself to come to Columbus to be employed in a refreshment saloon that he was going to set up. They started together on Thursday for Columbus. The colored men stayed over night at Delaware where Rice had relatives; but Watson came on to Columbus, and met them with the gang when they arrived in the morning. Alfred was not seized, but was roughly handled to prevent his interference. People at Xenia where the train was due at 12 o'clock, were informed of the matter by telegraph, and we are advised that officers got on the cars there with a writ of *habeas corpus*, but were carried off.

Alfred states Rice had lived in the neighborhood of Mount Gilead near eight years, and has a wife and one child there. Incidents like this among us leave no room for indignation or horror at John Brown's invasion. If arms can be put into this man's hands to hew his way to freedom by whatever killing is necessary, there is not a man or woman in the State that will not justfy both the man that armed him and the man who slew those that enslaved him. See what a narrow line divides us, republicans and democrats, from Old John Brown!—*Columbus Journal.*

ATTEMPT TO ENSLAVE A FREE FAMILY.—The Louisville Democrat gives an account of a conspiracy to enslave a family of free negroes in Louisville, Ky. A number of years since, a negro and his family were emancipated, and, by industry and frugality, they secured a sufficient sum to purchase their son, who afterwards married a slave girl, who was also purchased by the parents. Bills of sale were taken and held by the father, but at the same time he granted his son and daughter-in-law free papers. On Sunday, the old negro died very suddenly, and without any predisposing causes. Immediately a tailor, named McGrath, living on the same square, took the initiative steps towards enslaving the negroes. McGrath and another person applied to a lawyer named Clearly. They told him that they had a fine chance for a good speculation, and promised him $400 for his share of the ill-gotten booty. Clearly jumped at the tempting bait, and prepared bills of sale from the old negro to McGrath, and to the document signed his name with the X mark. Having progressed thus far, they proceeded to take possession of the negroes, and were astonished to find free papers staring them in the face. Their rascality was thus easily exposed. The lawyer Cleary and McGrath were both lodged in jail. The lawyer intended to turn State's evidence. There will be some curious developments in this matter. It is surmised by many that foul means were used to produce the old negro's death, from its great suddenness.

UNDER-GROUND RAILROAD BUSINESS. The John Brown business does not seem to have interfered with, but rather accelerated, underground railway travel. The Detroit Tribune states that twenty-six slaves arrived over the road at the Windsor depot the night of the 3d; and Fred. Douglass' Paper of the 4th states that the Saturday evening previous, not less than $15,000 worth of "property" passed through Rochester on a train of the U. G. R. R., and that in the transit across the Suspension Bridge at Niagara, the "property" suddenly became metamorphosed into about a dozen young and middle-aged men and women, who thenceforward owned themselves. These "chattels personal" were part of a large shipment which left Alexandria, Va., about the time of the Harper's Ferry foray.

A STAMPEDE.—We learn that on Saturday night last, some thirty slaves in all, ran off from their homes in Alexandria and Fairfax counties, Va., near this city. Six were the property of the Rev. Mr. Lippett, of the Episcopal Church, and one of David Fitzhugh, Esq. Some of them are said to be the property of the estate of the late Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, and two other gentlemen in the neighborhood, whose names we have not yet learned.—*Washington States.*

NEGROES SOLD AND SWAMPED. One day last week our fellow-citizen, C. Blackburn, sold six negroes to a gentleman of Boone county, by the name of R. P. Buckner, who were on Monday last shipped on the steamer Cambridge, to go South. The Cambridge, it will be remembered, sunk on the evening of that day, a short distance below the city, and we have heard it whispered that in the confusion which ensued in consequence of the sinking, the negroes made their escape, and are now on their way to Canada.—*Cincinnati Enquirer, 20th.*

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR IN BOSTON.

Banks.	Butler.	Briggs.	Scatt.	Total.
4804	4121	1931	60	10,916

For the first time, the Republicans have carried Boston. The plurality for Banks in this city is *six hundred and eighty-three.* Last year he went out of Boston with an adverse vote of 81. In 1857, the plurality against him was 947.

RECAPITULATION OF VOTES FOR GOVERNOR, 1859.

	Banks.	Butler.	Briggs.	Scat'g.
Suffolk,	5473	4434	2165	60
Essex,	8153	4594	1934	16
Middlesex,	10,486	6439	2670	5
Worcester,	9706	5105	1155	13
Hampshire,	2551	721	336	00
Hampden,	3300	2655	455	00
Franklin,	2666	1474	218	00
Berkshire,	3275	2577	337	00
Norfolk,	4418	2985	1913	07
Bristol,	3465	1855	2018	00
Plymouth,	3335	1548	899	02
Barnstable,	1457	760	138	00
Dukes,	197	159	97	00
Nantucket,	239	117	93	00
	58,431	35,173	14,309	103

RECAPITULATION OF SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Opp.
Suffolk,	3	2	16	11	1
Essex,	5		24	8	
Middlesex,	5	1	36	3	
Worcester,	6		27	7	
Hampshire,	2		6	2	
Hampden,	2		10	2	
Franklin,	1		6	2	
Berkshire,	1	1	6	4	
Norfolk,	2	1	13	8	
Bristol,	3		17	3	
Plymouth,	3		13	3	
Barnstable,	1		8	1	
Dukes and Nantucket,	1		1	0	
Hampshire and Franklin,	1		1	1	
	35	5	186	45	1

THE IRRESISTIBLE EXODUS. One hundred and forty negroes, in charge of Birch & Keary, were shipped from this port yesterday, on the Southern bound steamer Cora Anderson. Another small lot of from twenty to thirty were also shipped on the A. B. Chambers. All these negroes were purchased in Missouri.

The frequency of these shipments is beginning to excite much attention and remark among our citizens. Scarcely a day passes but gangs of these unfortunate creatures are seen trailing, in couples with drivers in front and in the rear, down the principal streets leading to the river. Missouri undoubtedly is being rapidly depleted of her young and vigorous slaves. At present prices they are entirely too valuable to hold, in this, to them, unhealthy climate, and in such precarious proximity to the Free States. The old and infirm remain to die, or watch the slow but irrepressible exodus of their children, and the gradual fading away of the system of Slavery.—*St. Louis Democrat.*

OUR COLORED POPULATION.—Night before last, a party of twenty-eight negroes arrived in this city from Virginia, where they had been emancipated. They at first intended going further west to buy land, but have since concluded to remain in this locality. These negroes were the property of Mrs. Shackleford, of Lynchburg, Va., now five years deceased, who provided that at the end of five years after her decease, (during which time the negroes should be bound out to the best advantage,) they should be taken to some Free State, where the proceeds of their labor should be paid into their hands by the agent. Their pay for five years' work was about $50 apiece. The agent started from Virginia with fifty, that being the entire number, and having left twenty-two at some point between here and Wheeling, the remaining twenty-eight were brought to this city.—*Columbus (O.) paper, 20th.*

MR. SAMUEL CHILTON. Hearing a multitude of rumors concerning the circumstances inducing the Hon. Samuel Chilton, of this city, to undertake the defence of Ossawatomie Brown and his co-conspirators against the peace of Virginia and the lives and property of her citizens, it may not be improper for us to say that we have satisfied ourself that he accepted the task in response to an application from Montgomery Blair, Esq., who guarantied him (Mr. Chilton) a fee of $1000, to be paid by parties at the North, principally in Boston. It seems that those parties applied to Mr. Blair to undertake the defence of Brown and his co-conspirators, in person, which he was unable to do, and in his own stead he sent Mr. Chilton to Charlestown.—*Washington Star, Nov. 2.*

POLITICAL.—The Cincinnati Gazette has a despatch from St. Louis of the following tenor:—

'An important document has been prepared for the press, and published here to-day, presenting an authoritative exposition of the views of Hon. Edward Bates on the slavery question. It is of a radical Republican character. He believes that slavery is not beneficial, either in a political, social or religious sense, and he is unalterably opposed to its extension into free territory. He favors the colonization of the free blacks. It is a powerful article, and will produce a sensation.'

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES. C. L. Remond lectured to a full house in this place, last Tuesday evening, upon the wrongs of his race. We have not space to give notes of it, but can only say, it was eloquent, thrilling, impressive. There is an improved state of public feeling in favor of lectures of this kind; and the liberality of the Congregational minister and his society in lending the use of their house to the object cannot be too much commended, and will not be forgotten; though, of course, it is no more than might reasonably have been expected of any religious body. The Congregational Society is rather an exception, however, we think, in the matter of liberality in this place. We have never known them to refuse the use of their house for any worthy object. Mr. Andrew T. Foss will lecture in the same place this (Thursday) evening at 7 o'clock.—*Hyannis Messenger.*

☞ A bill has been introduced in the Tennessee Legislature to prevent free negroes travelling on the railroads in that State, which passed the first reading. The bill provides that the President who shall permit a free negro to travel on any road within the jurisdiction of the State under his supervision, shall pay a fine of $500; any conductor permitting a violation of the act shall pay $250; provided such free negro is not under the control of a free white citizen of Tennessee, who will vouch for the character of said free negro in a penal bond of one thousand dollars.

☞ A man by the name of Berkley, from Ottawa, Illinois, on his way to Pike's Peak, was arrested last spring by the Sheriff of St. Joseph county, on suspicion that he was an escaped slave. He was whipped, put into jail, and, on proof of his freedom, sold for the jailer's fees to a Missouri farmer, who subsequently took him to St. Louis and sold him to a slave trader. He was shipped South, but in the neighborhood of Memphis, jumped overboard, and with a companion of the same lot, made good his escape, and a few days since arrived safely at Ottawa.

☞ Senator Fitzpatrick of Alabama, who is said to be one of the aspirants for the Charleston nomination, has written a letter in which he affirms the duty of Congress to protect slavery in the Territories.

☞ The Massachusetts House of Representatives, by a vote of 99 to 110, has receded from its former action on the bill relative to the statue of Horace Mann, and thereby concurred with the Senate, thus allowing the statue to be placed on the State House grounds without the approval of another Legislature.

☞ A colored impostor succeeded in getting considerable money from the members of the late Christian Anti-Slavery Convention at Chicago, by pretending that he had wife and children in slavery whom he wished to purchase.

☞ Dr. Cheever has been delivering a course of Anti-Slavery sermons in Rochester the past week to large audiences, and *The Advertiser*, an organ of the Sham Democracy, has published reviews of the same 'from a Southern point of view.'

☞ Twenty years ago the number of colored men in Canada West was 3,400; now there are more than 40,000. In four months after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, 10,000 poured into that country.

☞ The latest advices from the Hon. William H. Seward are from Java, in the Mediterranean Sea. He had completed his journey up the valley of the Nile to the ancient Thebes, had surveyed the Pyramids, and he was about to proceed to Jerusalem, and thence by Damascas to Constantinople.

☞ Next Thursday, Nov. 24, will be observed as Thanksgiving in Massachusetts, and in twenty-four other States—Virginia *not* of the number.

☞ UNPAID PLEDGES in aid of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, made in January last, or previously to that time, are now payable; and it is hereby requested that the same may be paid at the earliest practicable day.

All *donations*, in furtherance of the Anti-Slavery cause, will be faithfully applied to the swelling of that Just and Righteous Public Sentiment, before which SLAVERY cannot stand, and must fall.

All payments to be made to EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer, or to SAMUEL MAY, JR., General Agent, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

☞ WILLIAM H. FISH, of Cortland, New York, has been re-appointed, by the Executive Committee, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. His aid, in the lecturing field, is commended to all friends of the cause, and contributions in its behalf, and subscriptions to the *Anti-Slavery Standard, Liberator*, &c., may be paid to him.

WOMAN'S RIGHT TO LABOR.

MRS. DALL'S LECTURES. MERCANTILE HALL.

Mrs. Dall will deliver the third of her course of Lectures at Mercantile Hall, Summer street, on

SATURDAY P. M., Nov. 19, at 3 o'clock.

SUBJECT—*New work to be done in Boston.*

Drowning of Daughters. New means to prevent it. Medical specialities. Dr. Heidenreich. Marian, the Bible woman. Training School for Servants. Knitting factory, &c. &c. Mr. Buckle's position to be questioned. A Labor Exchange. Will you tread out the nettles?

There will be no tickets. Editors, Reporters, Clergymen and other lecturers will find free admission. Single admission 25 cents.

☞ CUMMINGTON, Mass.—An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in the Independent Meeting-house at East Cummington, on Saturday and Sunday, November 19 and 20, commencing on Saturday at 1 o'clock, P. M. All friends of impartial liberty, and of an honest, uncompromising Anti-Slavery agitation, are requested to attend, and confer together on the best methods of promoting the Anti-Slavery cause.

Among the speakers expected are ANDREW T. FOSS, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

☞ ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

West Cummington,	Friday,	Nov.	25.
Savoy,	Saturday,	"	26.
Cheshire,	Sunday,	"	27.
Hinsdale,	Tuesday,	"	29.
Middlefield,	Wednesday,	"	30.
Worthington,	Thursday,	Dec.	1.
Plainfield,	Friday,	"	2.
Ashfield,	Sunday,	"	4.
Buckland,	Tuesday,	"	6.
Shelburne Falls,	Wednesday.	"	7.

☞ CIVIL AND POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN IN NEW YORK STATE.—Meetings, to be addressed by Mrs. Tracy Cutler, of Illinois, and J. Elizabeth Jones, of Ohio, will be held in Livingston County, to be addressed by Mrs. Frances D. Gage, of St. Louis, Missouri, and Lucy N. Colman of Rochester, at

Leroy,	Tuesday,	Nov. 15.
Lima,	Wednesday,	" 16.
Livonia,	Friday,	" 18.

There will be an afternoon and evening session at each place, at 2 and 7 o'clock. Admission to afternoon session free; evening session, 10 cents.

☞ CHARLES LENOX REMOND, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture as follows:—

Northampton,	Monday evening, Nov.	21
Springfield,	Tuesday "	" 22.

LECTURES.—THOMAS VICKERS would respectfully inform Lecture Committees that he will deliver any of the following lectures, in the New England States, during the two weeks immediately succeeding January 28, 1860:—

Rufus Choate: an Ethical View of his Character and Genius.
Horace Mann.
Thomas Carlyle.
Psychological Manifestations of Opium and Hashkesh.
Oliver Cromwell, and the Revolution of 1642.
Representative Men of the Temperance Reformation.
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MARRIED—In this city, 14th inst., by Rev. John T. Sargent, Mr. GEORGE NORTON to Miss EMILY A. LEIGHTON, both of West Newton.

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IT has been so often said that most people now believe it, *That cultivators of the soil do not read.*

The fact that in so short a time THREE EDITIONS each of *COPELAND'S COUNTRY LIFE* and *DR. DADD'S NEW CATTLE DOCTOR* have been called for, gives the lie to this libel upon our intelligent yeomanry. These books should be in the hands of every man who cultivates an acre of ground, or owns a cow.

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SCROFULA AND SCROFULOUS COMPLAINTS, ERUPTIONS AND ERUPTIVE DISEASES, ULCERS, PIMPLES, BLOTCHES, TUMORS, SALT RHEUM, SCALD HEAD, SYPHILIS AND SYPHILITIC AFFECTIONS,

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE MESSAGE TO PHARROR.

'He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief.'—Isaiah, 53: 3.
'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.'—John, 12: 32.

'Break the bonds of my people!' Jehovah has spoken,
And one mighty heart is a-glow with the word:
'Lo! I will go with thee; my presence thy token!
Kings vanish like dust at the breath of the Lord!'

The Midian Shepherd bends low in devotion—
Bends low, as the tongue of flame speaks in his soul!
God's Spirit, a fire, kindles ardent emotion,
Flaming high in that heart God alone can control.

The waves of self-doubting, of self-accusation,
Beat backward and forward. 'O, Lord, who am I
To stand before Kings, to deliver a nation?
Slow of speech, slow of tongue, O, Lord, pass me by!'

From the heights of the spirit his manhood is calling,
'Up, up to thy duty! The Lord will requite!
Will clothe thee with wisdom—will keep thee from falling!
He strengthens the hands that are raised for the right.'

As the mists by the storm-wind are torn from the mountain,
So fear and doubt fly at this breath of the Lord;
And courage undaunted springs up like a fountain,
Divine inspiration descending from God.

Serene and unshaken, the old man is standing,
More kingly than Kings, before Pharaoh's throne;
While the proud ruler quails at his earnest demanding,
'Send thy slaves forth in freedom! The Lord hears their moan!'

'And who is the Lord God, that *I* should obey him?'
The haughty King answers in scorn and in wrath:
'Jehovah is Lord!—and the Kings that gainsay him,
Like dust by the whirlwind are swept from his path!

'The nations like smoke at his presence shall vanish;
They are weighed in the balance, and wanting are found;—
His Truth stands forever, all evil to banish;
His Law is eternal; His Word shall abound!'

Through plagues and through torments, through wild insurrection;
Through the shadow of death, through the waves of the sea,
(The waves of the Red Sea!—their mighty protection!)
He leads forth his people victorious and free!

The proud hosts of Egypt are lost 'neath the waters;
The red rolling billows triumphantly sing,
With the wild swelling chorus of Israel's daughters,
'Jehovah has triumphed! Jehovah is King!'

* * * * * * *

On a mountain at midnight a young man is straying,
His soul by God's spirit divinely inspired;
The true, faithful son to the Father is praying:
With the work that God gives him his spirit is fired.

A hard-handed peasant, despised and rejected!
The scorn of the worldling, the scoff of the wise!
A King! by the grace of God guided, protected!
His crown is a thorn-crown—a Cross is his prize!

'Break the bonds of my people! Bind up the heart-broken!'
The Word, ever present, finds echo once more;
And the Son, well-beloved, accepteth the token,
And fearlessly takes up the work as of yore.

The truth of God flashes like flame through the nation;
The Priests cry, 'Blasphemer!—This fellow must die!'
The Rich hate the rebel to wealth and to station;
The People he works for shout forth, 'Crucify!'

A Cross lifts its shadow of terrible warning;
And Truth still is doomed there to languish and bleed;
But still through the night beams this star of the morning—
'O, Father, forgive them, they know not their deed!'

* * * * *

This wonderful Moses! We bow down before him,
And hail him in glory, 'Priest, Prophet, and King!'—
This Jesus divine, with God's perfectness o'er him,
We call him, with tender love, 'Savior of men!'

Oh, blind world! and blind leaders! forever unheeding!
God's Word is incarnate—is with us to-day!
And Truth on its cross is still languishing, bleeding!
And still to the Judgment-hall lead we the way!

'Break the bonds of my people!' An old man has heard it,
And forth to the work has gone, noble and brave:
Shall courage so splendid, ('twas God who conferred it,)
Shall his inspiration find naught but a grave?

Brave sons, with their stout hearts for freedom enkindled,
In manliest manhood stood stanch by his side:—
Alas! that dear life-tide with dust is commingled!
Alas! those still faces—his hope and his pride!

'Break the bonds of my people! Undaunted, unquailing,
He girds on God's armor, all wrong to defy!
He stands in his manhood, all falsehood assailing!
And answers God's calling with, 'Lo! here am I!'

The bands of oppressors fly broken before him,
And fear,—as his rifle gleams out from afar;
The women he saves bless the woman that bore him;
The wise 'mongst the wise-men gaze up at his star.

'Lead my people from bondage!' He prayerfully listens!—
'O, Lord! must thy rivers run red to the sea?'
(And a tear from his heart in his fearless eye glistens,)
'The Lord will provide,—but his world *must be free!*'

As a thunderbolt falls from the sky, so he falleth!
'First pure, and then peaceful!' his motto sublime;
And the manhood of one man a thousand appalleth!
'Hast thou come to torment us,' they cry, 'ere our time?'

The blow was struck boldly, with noble devotion;
And, blessed Potomac! thou bearest adown,
To add its rich wealth to the treasures of ocean,
The blood of a hero,—the blood of John Brown!

They say that he failed! They think dungeons can hold him!
They fetter his limbs! They may lead him to death!
But the Truth that he lived for—the Truth that controlled him,
Is the Lord's—of His life the omnipotent breath.

Thou man of deep sorrows, with grief well acquainted,
Rejected, despised—we hail thee as 'King'!
Thy name branded 'Traitor!'—with treason attainted,—
We call thee 'Deliverer, and Savior of men'!

Thy blood and thy loved ones' with purple shall clothe thee;
Thy crown is a thorn-crown; thy sceptre a chain!
But know that the World, and it love thee or loathe thee,
Shall yet list to thy truth, and shall honor thy name!

A voice, as in old times with prophecy gifted,—
The comfort of mourners, the hope of the free,—
Still speaks from thy prison, 'If I be uplifted,
Behold, all the nations shall come unto me!'

The Angel of Death shall pass over, pass over,—
The blood on our door-posts our safety assure;
The children shall learn that the Lord *is* Jehovah,
And know what a true soul can dare and endure.

Shall learn, by thy footprints, the path to true glory!
In love shall weave for thee a wreath of renown!
Shall read through their tears of thy wonderful story,
And feel their hearts thrill at the name of John Brown!

Worcester, Nov. 6, 1859.

THE LIBERATOR.

HARPER'S FERRY AND ITS LESSON.

Extract from a Discourse delivered in the Unitarian Church, Dover, N. H., Sunday, Nov. 6, 1859,

BY EDWIN M. WHEELOCK.

'Can ye not discern the signs of the times?'—Matt. 16: 3.
'Without shedding of blood, there is no remission.'—Heb. 9: 22.

* * * It is a great mistake to term this act the *beginning* of bloodshed and civil war. Never could there be a greater error. We have had bloodshed and civil war for the last ten years; yes, for the last ten years. The campaign began on the 7th of March, 1850. The dissolution of the Union dates from that day, and we have had no Constitution since. On that day, Daniel Webster was put to death—ah, and such a death! And from that time to this, there has not been a month that has not seen the soil of Freedom invaded and attacked, our citizens kidnapped, imprisoned, or shot, or driven by thousands into Canada.

This once free North of ours has been changed into an American coast of Guinea, where the slave pirate of Virginia, with the President of the United States as his bloodhound, hunts his human prey as his brother pirate on the negro coast hunts there. When the kidnappers on the African coast would capture a town, they surround it in the night, and steal the inhabitants under cover of the darkness; but our largest cities have been again and again captured in full daylight, and by a mere handful of negro thieves, and their citizens stolen without even the snapping of a gun-lock. The proud city of Boston has been taken three times. I myself have seen two hundred thousand citizens, nearly two hundred police, and fifteen hundred well-armed soldiers, surrender, without firing a shot, to sixty marines, who held them all passive prisoners for ten days. And yet these were the children of men who started up revolutionists the instant the hand of government was thrust into their pockets to take a few pence from them!

No, it is not true that the conflict of Harper's Ferry is the *beginning* of a civil war. That would be like saying that the capture of Yorktown was the beginning of the Revolutionary struggle. The meaning of that new sign is this: Freedom, for ten years weakly standing on the defensive, and for ten years defeated, has now become the assailant, and has now gained the victory. The Bunker Hill of our second Revolution has been fought, and the second Warren has paid the glorious forfeit of his life. John Brown felt that to enslave a man is to commit the greatest possible crime within the reach of human capacity. He was at war, therefore, with the slave system. He felt that its vital principle was the most atrocious atheism, withholding the key of knowledge, abrogating the marriage relation, rending families asunder at the auction-block, making the State that protects it a band of pirates, and the Church that enshrines it a baptized brothel. He knew that the cause needed not talk, not eloquence, but action, life, principle walking on two feet. He had small faith in politics. He saw that the *beau ideal* of a Democrat was one that could poll the most votes with the fewest men; and that the object of Republicans, during the next year, would be to find the most available candidate for the Presidency; and he decided, that the barbarism that holds in bloody chains four millions of our people for the purpose of lucre and lust; 'that makes every sixth man and woman in the country liable to be sold at auction; that forbids by statute every sixth man and woman in the nation to learn to read; that makes it an indictable offence to teach every sixth man and woman in the country to read the alphabet; that forbids every sixth man and woman in the nation to have a husband or wife; and that annihilates the sanctity of marriage by statute, systematically, and of purpose, in regard to one-sixth part of a nation calling itself Christian';—he decided, I say, that such a barbarism was in itself *an organized and perpetual war against God and man*, and could be best met by the direct issue of arms. For he was no sentimentalist and no non-resistant. He believed in human brotherhood, in George Washington, in Bunker Hill, and in a God all of whose attributes take sides against the oppressor. He was a Puritan on both sides, and that blood is always Revolutionary. He had the blood of English Hampden, who, rather than pay an unjust tax of twenty shillings, begun a movement that hurled a king from his throne to the block. He had the blood of Hancock and Adams, who, when King George laid his hand on the American pocket, roused every New Englander to be a revolution in himself. He knew that the crimes of the slave faction against humanity were more atrocious by far than those which turned England into a Republic and the Stuarts into exile, and his glorious fault it was, that he could not look calmly on while four millions of our people are trodden in the bloody mire of despotism. It is the fashion now to call him a crazy fanatic. But history will do the *head* of John Brown the same ample justice that even his enemies give to his heart. It is no impossible feat to plant a permanent armed insurrection in Virginia. Within a few days' march of Harper's Ferry lies the Great Dismal Swamp, whose interior depths are for ever untrodden save by the feet of fugitive slaves. A few resolute white men, harbored in its deep recesses, raising the flag of slave revolt, would gather thousands to their standard, would convulse the whole State with panic, and make servile war one of the inseparable felicities of slavery. Let us not forget that three hundred half armed Indians, housed in similar swamps in Florida, waged a seven years' war against the whole power of the United States, and were taken at last, not by warfare, but by treachery and bribes. A single year of such warfare would unhinge the slave faction in Virginia. Said Napoleon, when preparing for the invasion of England, in 1808, 'I do not expect to conquer England, but I shall do more—I shall ruin it. The mere presence of my troops on her coast, whether defeated or not, will shake her government to the ground, and destroy her social system.' With equal correctness reasoned the hero and the martyr of Harper's Ferry. He knew that slave revolt could be planted upon as permanent and chronic a basis as the Underground Railroad, and that once done, slavery would quickly bleed to death. We who have seen the knees of a great slave State smiting together, and her teeth chattering with fear, while wild and craven panic spread far and wide, from the slight skirmish of a single day with less than a score of men, can judge somewhat of her position if insurrection had become an institution in her midst.

If Brown had not, in pity to his prisoners, lingered in the captured town till beset by the federal bayonets, he would now have been lodged in the mountains or the swamps, while every corner of the State would have flamed with revolt. His scheme is no failure, but a solemn success. Wherein he failed, his foes have come to his aid.

The greatness of their fears reveals the extent of his triumph. John Brown has not only taken Virginia and Gov. Wise, he has captured the whole slave faction North and South. All his foes have turned Abolition missionaries. They toil day and night to do his bidding, and no President has as many servants as he.

The best Sharpe's rifle in all his band could scarcely throw a bullet a single mile, but in every corner of every township of thirty-three States, the press of the slave party is hurling his living and inspired words; words filled with God's own truth and power, and so more deadly to despotism than hosts of armed men.

The Spartan band of chivalry fifteen hundred strong quaking on the hills round Harper's Ferry, for a whole day, unable to look the old man in the face; then murdering a prisoner unarmed, and bound hand and foot, who could find in that shambles no man, and but one woman to vainly plead for his life; then blowing off the face of a man who cried for quarter; then hacking with seven wounds the body of the gray-haired leader *after he had yielded;* then before the eyes of the bereaved and bleeding father crowding the body of his son into a box for dissection; then with obscene rage and threats insulting the aged chief as he lay wounded and manacled upon his cot; the mock trial overleaping with indecent haste the ancient forms of law; the hurried sentence, the mustering of hundreds of armed men, filling with horse, foot, and cannon every avenue to the jail; the whole South on tip-toe with apprehension; two great States in an extasy of fear; Virginia turning herself into an armed garrison; the slave journals of the North shrieking in full concert,—behold on what a platform the insane rage and fear of his foes have lifted this anti-slavery veteran to the stars!

His aim was to render slavery insecure, and he has succeeded. 'He has forced the telegraph, the press, the stump, the bar-room, the parlor to repeat the dangerous story of insurrection in every corner of the South. From Maryland to Florida, there is not a slave who does not have the idea of freedom quickened within him by the outbreak at Harper's Ferry. Like the Druid stone, which the united force of an hundred men could not move, while a child's finger, rightly applied, rocked it to its base, this dark system of outrage and wrong which has stood for thirty years moveless against the warnings of an insulted Christianity, against the political power of the North, and against the moral sentiment of the world, now rocks and trembles as the finger of this God-fearing Puritan presses against its weak spot. The fatal secret has now become public news. Invulnerable to all moral appeals, it yields, it dissolves, it dies, before the onset of force. Like the Swiss valleys, the first clash of *arms* brings down the avalanche. From the martyrdom of Brown dates a new era of the anti-slavery cause. To moral agitation will now be added physical,—to argument, action.

The appeals of the North will now be applied to the *terrors* as well as to the conscience of this Great Barbarism. Other devoted men will follow in the wake of Brown, avoiding his error, and will carry on to its full results the work he has begun. Slave propagandism we have had long enough. We are likely now to have some liberty propagandism. I rejoice to see a man whose banner bears no uncertain sign. The North wants no more cornstalk generals, but a real general, one who is both platform and party in himself. If an honest expression of the wishes of the North could be taken to-morrow, John Brown would be the people's candidate for the next presidency, and he would receive a million votes.

He had a live religion also. He believed that God spake to him in visions of the night. Yes, incredible as it may seem, this man actually believed in God!—Why, he must have been 'mad'! It was the doctrine of John Brown that we should interfere with the slaveholders to rescue the slave. I hope no Anti-Slavery man will have the weakness to apologize for, explain or deny such a self-evident truth. He could not see that it was heroic to fight against a petty tax on tea, and endure seven years' warfare for a political right, and a crime to fight in favor of restoring an outraged race to those Divine Birthrights of which they had been for two centuries robbed. He knew that every slave, on every plantation, has the right from his God and his Creator to be free, and that he could not devote his life to a nobler aim than to forward their freedom. Every one feels that it is noble. Any man with the Golden Rule before him should be ashamed to say less than this. He is true to the logic of Lexington and Concord, and no American is so loyal to the meaning of the Fourth of July as he. He is one of God's nobility, who had outgrown selfish and private aims. And his last act is so brave and humane that politicians stand aghast. One party shrieking as if noise was the 'chief end of man'—while the other protests with both hands upraised, 'We didn't help him do it!' Of course they didn't—*it isn't in them.* Ah! the sacred principle of the Declaration of seventy-six is utterly dying out of our minds. It is boldly sneered at as a 'generality' by some, and disregarded by all. There is to-day not a State, not a party, not a religious sect in the nation that accepts that Declaration,—only one old man in a Southern prison dares believe in it. And let no one who glories in the Revolutionary struggle of our fathers for their freedom deny the right of the American bondman to imitate their high example. And those who rejoice in the deeds of a Wallace or a Tell, a Washington or a Warren; who cherish with unbounded gratitude the name of Lafayette for volunteering his aid in behalf of an oppressed people, in a desperate crisis, and at the darkest hour of their fate, cannot refuse equal merit to this strong, free, heroic man, who has freely consecrated all his powers, and the labors of his whole life, to the help of the most needy, friendless, and unfortunate of mankind. The picture of the Good Samaritan will live to all future ages, as the model of human excellence for helping one whom he chanced to find in need. John Brown did more. He went to *seek* those who were lost, that he might save them. He a fanatic! He a madman! He a traitor! Yes, and the fanatics of this age are the star-crowned leaders of the next. And the madmen of to-day are the heroes of to-morrow.

It is we who have committed treason, we, who here in America, roofed over with the Declaration of Independence, turn more people into merchandise than existed here when our Fathers made that solemn Declaration; we, who claim that the right to buy and sell men and women is as sacred as the right to buy and sell horses; we, who build our National Temple on the profaned birth-rights of humanity, the Fugitive Slave Bill being the chief corner-stone. But this 'Traitor' is Live America, and carries the Declaration of seventy-six in his heart.

I think the time is fast coming when you will be forced to do as he has done. You will be obliged to do it by the inroads of Slavery upon your own liberties and rights. What you are not brought into by conscience, you will be shamed into, and what you are not shamed into, you will be driven into by the slaveholders themselves. Slavery will let neither peace nor liberty nor the Union stand. A few years more will roll away this Tyranny, steadily marching forward, till the avalanche comes down upon you all, and you will be obliged to take the very ground upon which stands this high-souled and devoted man. Editors and politicians call him mad—and so he is, *to them;* for she has builded his manly life of more than three score years upon the faith and fear of God, a thing which editors and politicians, from the time of Christ till now, have always counted as full proof of insanity. One such man makes *Total* Depravity impossible, and proves that American greatness died not with Washington. The gallows from which he ascends into Heaven will be in our politics what the cross is in our religion—the sign and symbol of supreme self-devotedness, and from his sacrificial blood the temporal salvation of four millions of our people yet shall spring. On the second day of December he is to be strangled in a Southern prison for obeying the Sermon on the Mount. But to be hanged in Virginia is like being crucified in Jerusalem—it is the last tribute which sin pays to virtue.

John Brown realized the New Testament. He felt that he owed the same duty to the black man on the plains of Virginia that he did to his blood brethren. This was his insanity. He does not belong to this age; he reaches back to the first three centuries of the Christian church, when it was a proverb among the followers of Jesus, 'No good Christian dies in his bed.' Their fanaticism was his fanaticism. Hear his words to the slave-court, which tried him for his life, without giving him time to obtain counsel whom he could trust, and while he was partially deaf from his wounds, and unable to stand on his feet:—'Had I interfered in this manner in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great,—or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this enterprise, it would have been all right. Every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward. This court acknowledges too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, which teaches me that 'all things whatsoever I would that men should do unto me, I should do even so to them.' It teaches me further, to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.' I say that I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to interfere as I have done in behalf of his despised poor, I did no wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life, and mingle my blood with the blood of my children, and with the blood of millions in this slave land, whose rights are disregarded by wicked laws, I say, let it be done.' Ah, friends, how near is that land to moral ruin where such men are accounted 'mad'! Virginia that day doomed to death her best friend.

'I know full well that were I a slave, and miserable, forbidden to call my wife, my child, my right arm, my own soul, my own; liable to be chained, and whipped, and sold, the voice that should speak Freedom to me would be holier in its accents than the music of hymn and cathedral, as sacred as the voice of an angel descending from God. In the eye that should be turned on me with rescue and help, a light would beam, before which the shine of the sun would grow dim. The hand that should be stretched out to smite off my chains,—it would thrill me like the touch of Christ. In his most blessed name, what on earth have his followers to do, what are they here for, if not to fly to the help of the oppressed, to maintain the holy cause of human freedom, and to stand out the unyielding opponents of outrage and wrong?' And this, my friends, is the sacred, the radiant treason of John Brown. God bless him, and all such traitors, say I, and let the great North respond amen!

The State that has parted with the bones of the dead Washington, and that has long since parted with the last shred of his principles, may now fittingly put the Living Washington to death; but, after all, it is but little that the rage of man can do. There is One above greater that Virginia, and across the obscene roar of the slave power comes *His* voice, sounding in the ears of that scarred and manacled old man, 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye did it unto me.' And again, 'He that loseth his life for my sake, SHALL FIND IT AGAIN.'

THE PERSONAL LIBERTY MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK.

ALBANY, N. Y., Nov. 1, 1859.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:—You will be glad to know that a State Personal Liberty Committee has recently been organized here to aid in vigorously pushing forward the Personal Liberty movement in the Empire State.

Several thousand copies of the following Appeal and form of Petition have been issued, and are being distributed throughout the State:—

NEW-YORK A FREE STATE.

At an informal meeting of persons favorable to the enactment of a Personal Liberty Law, held in Albany, on the 12th day of September, 1859, the following Appeal was adopted, and ordered to be published:

A. M. POWELL, *Chairman.*
GEO. E. BAKER, *Secretary.*

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK.

Shall the soil of the Empire State be longer polluted by the track of the Slave hunter?

Shall we ourselves be subject to his call to chase and catch his human prey?

Shall we be subjected to fines and imprisonments for refusing thus to degrade and dehumanize ourselves?

Must our doors and hearts be closed to the panting, starving stranger, who seeks shelter and protection from the remorseless kidnapper that would drag him back to the woes of the plantation from which he escaped?

Must we help to send him back to the land of chains and tortures, from which he fled through troops of blood-hounds scenting out his track; through forests where wild beasts prowl in the darkness; through rivers and dismal swamps; with no eye to pity him, save God's, shining through the North Star, guiding His despairing child to the nearest asylum, where the wicked cease from troubling?

Serious, solemn, momentous, are all these inquiries! What shall our answer be? First, we will ask the Legislature to pass a law that shall forever protect our State from the desecrating presence of the Slave hunter. By the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850, we are now forbidden to shelter or assist the forlonest stranger who ever appealed for sympathy and aid. Fines and imprisonments impend over us for exercising one of the holiest charities of our Religion. The Law of God is defied. Vice, the foulest, the blackest, is exalted to virtue; while virtue, humanity and holiness are legislated into crimes, and Heaven's own conditions of salvation are impiously reversed.

We rejoice to believe that our Legislature, by passing a PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL, can remedy these fearful wrongs. A PETITION for such an Act has been prepared to accompany this appeal. You are asked to *sign it*, to *circulate it*, to obtain for it the names of all your neighbors and fellow-citizens, and to send it, early in January, to the Legislature. [Petitions may be sent to your Member of Assembly or Senator, or to GEORGE E. BAKER, Albany, N. Y.]

This is no formal, idle request, but an earnest, well-considered appeal, in the name of God and Humanity. And this appeal is made to you, reader, whoever you may be, as one upon whom the responsibility of God's law unceasingly rests.

—

PETITION.

To the Honorable Senate and Assembly of the State of New-York:

The undersigned, citizens of State of New-York, respectfully ask you to put an end to SLAVE-HUNTING in New-York, by enacting that no person, who has been held as a Slave, shall be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Federal, within this State, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes 'service or labor' to such claimant, by the laws of one of the Slave States of this Union.

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A business meeting of the Committee has just been held here, and with other measures resolved upon, the following circular Letter was adopted, the importance of which you and your readers will understand:—

ALBANY, N. Y., Nov. 1, 1859.

DEAR FRIEND:—At a late informal meeting of friends of Freedom, held in this city, a Committee was formed for the purpose of securing the passage of a Personal Liberty Law for the State of New York.

The Committee, as organized, is as follows:—
President.—Aaron M. Powell, Ghent, N. Y.
Secretary.—George E. Baker, Albany, N. Y.
Treasurer.—Lydia Mott, Albany, N. Y.
Additional Members.—Rev. A. D. Mayo and Minos McGowan, Albany; Leonard Gibbs, Esq., Union Village, Washington Co.; Hon. Wm. Hay, Saratoga Springs; Rev. Samuel J. May, Syracuse; Susan B. Anthony, Rochester; George W. Taylor, Shirley, Erie Co.; James B. Richards, Harlem; Abby Hopper Gibbons, and William Irving, New York City.

An appeal to the people of the State and a form of Petition were adopted, of which the Committee desire to print and to circulate several thousand copies, together with other means of carrying on the work, requiring both labor and money. A few persons here at the Capital, the political centre of the State, have assumed much of this labor and expense; but we need more workers and more money, and this appeal is to you for the latter. We need it to pay printers, postage, expenses of lectures, meetings, &c.

Will you remit to the Treasurer, LYDIA MOTT, ALBANY, N. Y., such sum as the importance of the object and your own ability seem to warrant?

By order of the Committee,

A. M. POWELL, *President.*

It is hoped and confidently expected that to this Letter, and appeal for funds to aid in the work of the Committee, a prompt and liberal response will be given by the readers of the *Liberator* in New York. P.

FREEDOM IN NEW YORK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

The time is at hand when earnest efforts, in the circulation of petitions throughout the State, should be commenced by all Abolitionists, and others who are friendly to the passage of a Personal Liberty Law, and desirous of putting an end to SLAVE-HUNTING.

It will be remembered by your readers, that last year there was an auspicious beginning in the work—that, in the Assembly, one of the largest majority votes given for any measure during the session was for the Personal Liberty bill. It is true that in the Senate there was an adverse report, and no vote upon the bill. But we have for our encouragement, among other things, the significant fact that Senator DIVEN, who made the adverse report in the Senate, when proposed for an important position, at the late Republican State Convention, was himself effectually set aside, on the ground, it is understood, of his having reported in favor of the Fugitive Slave law, and against the legislation asked for by our Petition.

Last year, with no concert of action, and with comparatively little effort, a considerable number of signatures were obtained to our petition, in different parts of the State, and duly presented to the Legislature. It was the testimony of those who circulated petitions then, that a very large majority of the people of their respective communities gladly gave their signatures when called upon. Some effort has been already made with a similar petition, the present autumn, and, so far as is known, signatures are generally very promptly given, wherever the petition is presented, and an increased earnestness of feeling in behalf of the movement is found among the people.

The demand we make upon the Legislature is a righteous one. It is based upon human rights, and is founded in justice. The disposition, which is almost universal, and exists even among pro-slavery Doctors of Divinity and 'Democratic' postmasters, to disobey (if he can do it privately) the Fugitive Slave law, and to befriend the fugitive, is good evidence that, if fully and honestly expressed to the Legislature, by means of the Petition, the '*will of the majority*' would unmistakably call for a Personal Liberty law. It is the opinion which prevails to a considerable extent in this country that the majority *should* rule.

Recent events have opened to us a new and a most important chapter in the history of the gigantic struggle between freedom and slavery in America. In JOHN BROWN'S nobly intended, self-sacrificing and heroic demonstration against slavery, in Virginia, have we heard a first, loud peal of that 'Liberty Bell' which shall some day, perhaps not far distant in the future, 'proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound.' By the terms of confederation in the American Union, the parties to that Union are in a pledged and sworn 'conspiracy,' and 'insurrection' against a nation—four millions—of slaves. They (the slaves) have been seized upon, torn from their homes, overpowered, imprisoned, driven to unrequited toil, *not* 'uniformly treated with courtesy and kindness, and assured that no harm would come to them,' but peeled, plundered, outraged in ways innumerable, burned at the stake, and subjected to an 'oppression, one hour of which is worse to endure than ages of that which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose.'

This wicked conspiracy, and 'vile insurrection' against the liberty and lives of a nation, has been in progress many years, and so far has been to a great extent 'successful.' The tragical scenes of this oppressive conspiracy transpire, mainly, south of Mason and Dixon's line, but there is no lack of conclusive evidence that, in league with it, 'accessories before the fact,' cognizant of the design of the conspirators, guilty of furnishing aid and encouragement, are multitudes of highly respectable and influential parties, all through the North, United States Senators, members of Congress, ALL LOYAL CITIZENS, the chief priests and pharisees of the American Tract Society, the men and women of all the large and popular religious denominations of the land. Most astounding revelations in regard to this wide-spread 'affair' have been and continue to be made by the Anti-Slavery movement of this country. Not only is there a promised security extended to the immediate actors in this guilty conspiracy by these parties in the North in complicity with slavery, but so complete and extensive is the 'plan of operations,' and so general its ramifications through all parts of the country, that, if a victim escapes to the North, the pledge of 'good citizenship' is that he or she shall be given up to go back again to the imprisonment and cruelties of slavery.

It is our distinct purpose and most emphatic determination that this inhuman and 'extensively organized conspiracy' SHALL BE BROKEN UP. We do not insist that all these guilty parties, in complicity with slavery, shall be capitally executed, but we do insist that their connection with so disgraceful and criminal an 'institution' shall be speedily and forever terminated.

One good service we can certainly render, at once engage in, and are in conscience bound to do—that is, to labor 'with all our might' to make our own soil of the Empire State *absolutely and unqualifiedly* FREE—an asylum for the oppressed and forlorn victims of the great 'national conspiracy' who may and do come to us for protection. Let no more go on to Canada for the security they should find here, and let not another one, on any account, go back again to slavery. To this end your readers, in all parts of the State, are earnestly requested to begin at once the labor of circulating the petitions, and to see to it that the work is thoroughly done, by or before the middle of January next; also to unite with the State Committee, to the extent of their ability, in the execution of other measures designed to secure, by the next Legislature, we trust, the passage of an uncompromising Personal Liberty law. Such of your readers as have not received blank copies of the Petition may obtain a supply by addressing George E. Baker, Esq., *Albany, N. Y.*, or Wm. Leonard, *Anti-Slavery Office, 5 Beekman street, New York.*

So long as slaveholding and slave-hunting continue to be legalized 'institutions' in America, a huge criminal conspiracy, in treasonable defiance of the law of God, and 'judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off,' and 'truth has fallen in the street,' let our unceasing 'fast' be 'to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.' Let not the sublime and unparalleled example of unselfish, courageous, self-forgetful and heroic consecration to a Divine idea, so dearly given by JOHN BROWN and his associates, be lost upon us. May it prove, as it must, an added incentive to a renewed, more earnest and uncompromising resolution to meet and discharge, in our own way, the duties of the hour, in the arduous struggle, the 'irrepressible conflict,' which is before us.

AARON M. POWELL.

New York, Nov. 2, 1859.

IT IS NOT A DYE!

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S

HAIR RESTORER,

The only preparation that has a *EUROPEAN REPUTATION.*
Warranted not to contain deleterious substances.

This pleasant and valuable preparation has been used for many years by hundreds of the most distinguished and wealthy persons, who have previously tried all the nostrums of the day without success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is entirely different from all others.

'IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative?'

'We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived benefit from it.

'Persons personally known to us have come voluntarily, and told us of good results to either themselves or friends, who have used it before it became known in St. Louis.' *St. Louis Presbyterian.*

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE is given universal satisfaction, wherever it has been used. It can be used with perfect safety, and its perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet.' *Ch'n Witness and Ch. Advocate,* Boston, Mass.

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER is worthy of confidence.' *Philadelphia Christian Chronicle.*

'Incomparably the best preparation we have ever used.' *N. Y. Evangelist.*

'All are compelled to acknowledge MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S as *the* Hair Restorer.' *N. Y. Independent.*

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER has taken its place at the head of all articles of the kind.' *Michigan Christian Herald.*

'Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.' *Knoxville Presbyterian Witness.*

'There never has been a prescription or remedy for improving the hair, published in the Advocate, which was so fully endorsed by men of unquestioned standing, as in that of MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S.' *Buffalo Christian Advocate.*

'Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like color and appearance they cause the hair to assume, and the only way to have grey hair assume its NATURAL YOUTHFUL COLOR, is to use that which will be effectual and yet not a dye—MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER will do this.' *U. S. Journal.*

'In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted as the greatest discovery of the present day, it is refreshing to come across that which IS what it PRETENDS to be. A really excellent article is MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. As an assistant to nature, it is of great service; and a man by using it often prevents a serious and unnecessary loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harmless, it being a chemical compound of ingredients calculated to facilitate the natural growth of hair.' *Saturday Evening Gazette,* Boston.

'Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color, and at the same time render it soft. It is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair, POSSESSING NONE OF THE BURNING QUALITIES OF A DYE.' *Philadelphia Mercury.*

'There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has acquired more popularity than MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. Why is this? Simply because it is a preparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its proprietor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is denominated most appropriately the 'World's Hair Restorer.' *Newark Register.*

'We have reason to be assured that 'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wide circulation and immense sales it has achieved, fully demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciated.' *Railway Register.*

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. The most successful remedy of the day. We know of instances where its good effects have been remarkable.' *Weekly Visitor,* Franklin N. Y.

'From individual cases that have come under our own observation, we are satisfied that 'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly recommended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most cordially commend it to the notice and use of those of our readers who need a remedial agent of this character.' *St. Louis Ledger.*

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER.—As we were travelling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a lady whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we inferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some conversation she spoke of her hair, informing us that two years ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she had feared that before then the whole would have turned or fallen off. But our friend read the papers, and acquainted herself with the various remedies for decaying hair, and at length determined to obtain MRS. Allen's Restorer. She did so, and applied it according to directions, and before a year had passed, she assured us that she had as luxurious, even and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was confirmed by other members of the family, while we were informed that in the same neighborhood there were other instances where the same happy and signal effect had been produced by applying MRS. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.' *Providence Daily Tribune.*

'Among the very few preparations that we deem deserving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER.' It has been *thoroughly tested,* and found to be all its inventor claims for it; and to deny its excellence would be to deny the assertions made in its favor by scores and hundreds of the most respectable persons.' *Railway Advocate and Register.*

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER is the best preparation extant for the various diseases incident to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to restore the hair and whiskers, however grey, to their natural color. It having been before the public for many years, and its efficacy in restoring, invigorating, and beautifying the hair fully established, by hosts of persons throughout the country, has led to the manufacture of many worthless imitations, which have been successfully palmed off in numerous instances, upon the public as genuine.' *Brooklyn Morning Journal.*

'This preparation is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair. It possesses none of the burning, cauterizing powers of the old dyes, but gives the hair a healthy, glossy appearance almost instantaneously. The Restorer is easily applied, and *will not stain the finest linen.* The effect is sure in every instance, if applied according to the directions.' *Mercury,* Philadelphia.

'We are satisfied that the statements made in advertisement of MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER are correct.' *Boston Olive Branch.*

'Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.' *Norfolk Argus.*

'Those unsuccessful with other articles can try this with success.' *Boston Transcript.*

'It is just what it purports to be.' *Cleve. Leader.*

☞ We might swell this list, but if not convinced, TRY IT.

We export these preparations to Europe even, and they are superseding all others there as well as in the United States.

It does not soil or stain. Sold by all the principa wholesale and retail merchants in the U. S., Cuba, or Canada.

DEPOT, 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y.

where address all letters and inquiries.

☞ Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this, on which they make more profit. Write to Depot for circular, terms and information. Genuine is signed, *Mrs. S. A. Allen,* written *in ink.* Beware of counterfeits.

☞ *See next issue of this Paper for more information or send to Dep